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SCOTLAND
THE ANCIENT KINGDOM

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SCOTLAND: THE ANCIENT KINGDOM

BY

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"Footprints of Early Man" &c.

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FOREWORD

This volume deals with the early history of Scotland from the dim " Ages " of the archæologists till the death of Margaret, " The Maid of Norway ", the grand-daughter and heiress of Alexander III, when the Scottish War of Independence was becoming imminent. Some have inclined to begin the history of Scotland with this war, or, in brief and summary fashion, slightly earlier, but Scotland was already an ancient kingdom before those national heroes, Sir William Wallace and King Robert the Bruce, rose into prominence. It must be realized that while a period of six hundred years separates the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314, from the outbreak of the European War in 1914, the available written records from the time of King Brude I, the contemporary of St. Columba, till the time of King Robert the Bruce, cover the longer period of about seven and a half centuries. Then there are the earlier five centuries from the time of Brude I back till that of Galgacus, a period for which we can draw upon various ancient historians, including Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, and Gildas, upon the illuminating results of archæological research, and, in some measure, upon the old Gaelic records and traditions. That a fuller understanding may be reached

regarding the peoples with whom the Romans came into conflict in the country we now know as Scotland, chapters are devoted to the Continental Celts and their civilization, to the Celtic migrations into ancient Britain, and to the pre-Celtic peoples whom the Celts found in occupation and with whom they ultimately fused.

This early history of Scotland therefore deals with over twelve hundred years for which written records are available and with a much longer period before the first century for which evidence has been provided by specialists in the various departments of scientific research. In writing it, I have endeavoured throughout to derive accurate knowledge from the fundamental sources of information and the works of various scholars whose writings are included in a selected bibliography. The researches, translations, and studies of the modern specialists have made possible such a volume as this, which is an honest endeavour to trace, in the light of our fuller knowledge, the origin and growth of Scotland the Ancient Kingdom.

DONALD A. MACKENZIE.

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SCOTLAND
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CHAPTER I

The First Settlers

The story of the gradual colonization of Scotland by peoples who can be traced to different parts of the Continent takes us back to the Pleistocene Age, when the hills and valleys of the Highlands and Lowlands were assuming their final aspect under the alternating influences of masses of sculpturing ice and devastating floods, and the coast-line was still being moulded by the advancing and retreating seas. Early man in Scotland experienced sharp oscillations of climate and was the eyewitness of great geographical changes.

Traces of the action of ice can be detected on rock surfaces in the valleys lying north and south of the Forth and Clyde and on the slopes of serene Highland mountains to heights exceeding 3000 feet. The entire country, during the Second and Third Glacial Epochs, lay buried in a tremendous ice-sheet (*mer de glace*), above which appeared only the glistening summits of the loftiest bens. As the slowly-moving glaciers crept down the slopes, they deepened the valleys

and ground out basins for inland lochs. Their erosive tendencies must be borne in mind in estimating the thickness of the great ice-cap which tended to sink gradually from the higher levels without lessening in weight or bulk.

The directions followed by the grinding glaciers were decided partly by the configuration of the land, the driving power being acquired on mountain slopes, and partly by the tremendous pressure exercised by converging drifts from different areas. Streams of ice from the Scottish uplands met barriers of ice thrust forward from Scandinavia. Thus the great glacier which ground out the basin of the Firth of Forth moved in an easterly direction until it met the obstructing masses of the North Sea, which changed its direction towards the south-east. Similar changes of flow have been traced along the east coast as far north as Caithness, where the deflection was in the north-westerly direction. Evidence of the ice drifts across the North Sea is provided by the boulders from northern Scandinavia which were carried as far south as Essex and Middlesex, including those boulders of the Rhombporphyry rock of the Oslo Fjord—a kind of rock which is not found elsewhere in the world.

The progress of the glaciers was imperceptible but sure, continuing for many long centuries. Even the sea-floors were furrowed and scoured. The North Sea area was as completely smothered with ice as are the Polar regions in our own time. On the west masses of ice, which in the Minch measured about 2800 feet in thickness, were thrust out on a long slope into the Atlantic some sixty miles beyond the present coast-line, forming strange glistening cliffs that were buffeted by foaming billows and sapped by fretting currents. Often in spring and summer a jutting promontory or overhanging precipice shuddered and cracked, and then

with thunderous crash a huge iceberg was launched upon an ocean voyage. Boulders from northern mountains, which had been slowly carved and transported seaward by glaciers, were ultimately dropped by melting bergs on the beaches of the Azores.

Although polar in aspect during its periods of maximum glaciation, Scotland was not devoid of beauty and grandeur. When clear of blinding fog and bathed in sunshine, the snow-clad peaks, ice-cliffs, and glacier surfaces must have displayed a great wealth and variety of vivid colour. The air was crisp and devoid of dust, and the constant play of light and shadow must have produced in an intense degree even more wonderful and arresting effects than are nowadays obtained in the western Highlands when the sun at evening suddenly breaks through gloomy rain-clouds, revealing bright amber peaks, seas of violet and sapphire, blue-grey islands, purple moors, and rich green fields beneath a sky of crimson glory. There were Fairyland visions such as those afforded us in the fine pen pictures of the barrier ice-cliffs of the Antarctic in the writings of Mr. Herbert C. Ponting, who accompanied Scott on his second expedition. "The great ice wall," he wrote, "was deeply undermined by the action of the waves, but several feet of unseen ice somewhere below, reflected so much light that the sea was a brilliant emerald green. The opal caverns above the surface were all ablaze with turquoise, green and purple, and their inmost recesses were azure. In those wondrous caverns and grottoes played hundreds of Peter Pan fairies—rainbow-hued flashes of light mirrored by the dancing, lapping wavelets."

Those immense and creeping masses of shelving ice were slowly shaping out the Scotland that was to be. Land-bridges which before the glacial epoch had connected the

mainland with the Orkneys, the Shetlands, the Faroes, and even distant Iceland, were shorn through and obliterated; former green valleys were scoured and hollowed to form sea-lochs and straits; promontories and hill ranges were splintered and carved to reappear as the picturesque foam-girt islands we know as the Hebrides.

The action of the ice was not wholly of an erosive character, however. Till or " boulder clay ", which had been ground as in a mill, was carried forward on glacier edges and as sediment in the lower part of the ice, to be deposited in valleys, or slopes, or behind rocky obstructions. Thus the ice which ground its way round the Castle-rock of Edinburgh piled up those masses of clay and gravel which form the Lawnmarket, High Street, and Canongate—" the Royal Mile " descending past St. Giles Cathedral towards the Palace of Holyroodhouse.

The Fourth glaciation was of more limited character than had been the Second or the Third. It was most severe in the Highlands and the uplands of the Lowland area. On the west the glaciers reached the sea, but those on the east melted in the valleys each summer, causing great and devastating floods. The eastern coastal plains and those of the south meanwhile remained as cold and bleak as are the regions of northern Siberia in our own time. Hairy mammoths, reindeer, and other cold-loving animals, either extinct or now unknown in Scotland, cropped the scanty herbage during the short summer seasons. Cave-bears slept through the long winter in deep caves. Finds of ivory tusks made in boulder clay when the Forth and Clyde Canal was being excavated, are relics of those far-off times of climatic and geographical changes, as are also the elephant teeth unearthed at different localities as far north as Caithness.

After the summer-resisting ice of the Fourth Glacial Epoch had vanished from the Highlands, the climate became gradually drier and warmer. Trees and undergrowth began to flourish in the valleys and glens and even on the slopes of shouldering mountains. In time Scotland enjoyed long and warm summers, and the forest belt extended to greater altitudes than it does in our own day. This genial period has been named the Lower Forestian. It is difficult to calculate how long it endured.

Once again, as geologists have shown, a gradual relapse to cold conditions was set in progress. The trees vanished from the mountain slopes, and those unable to resist the long and severe winters and springs perished on the low-lying lands. Large inland areas, in which green rustling forests had for centuries been flourishing in beauty, were gradually conquered by the arctic plants and those bog mosses which in time became hardened into peat. Snow lay the whole year round upon the lofty mountains, and once again the ponderous glaciers came creeping down through the valleys. On the west they blocked some of the sea-lochs, but elsewhere they melted each spring and summer before reaching the sea, transforming the rivers into roaring floods. This was the Fifth Glacial Epoch, but it was not nearly so severe, nor did it endure so long as the Fourth Glacial Epoch.

In time another mild period was gradually ushered in, the snow-fields melting and the glaciers shrinking and finally disappearing. Once again the green rustling trees flourished in beauty, constantly extending their area of growth. Oaks and elms formed deep and wide forests, affording restful shade during the warm summers and in answer to gentle breezes murmuring like the creaming waves round the verduous shoreland. This period has been named the

Upper Forestian. It was sufficiently genial to attract human settlers, who hunted wild animals and gathered the shellfish round the coasts. Earlier settlers must have been forced to migrate southward during the periods of intense coldness.

Then came the Sixth and last glaciation, which followed upon an intervening period of chilly and wet summers and severe biting winters. Once again the forests were denuded, or obliterated. Small glaciers were formed in the mountain areas, and the flourishing mosses began to form the upper peat bogs in inland areas, in which trunks and stools of trees are found embedded, as they are under the lower peat bogs.

In time the glaciers were reduced in length and volume. Each spring was ushered in by bellowing torrents and great floods. The melting snow caused the rivers to sweep seaward with much violence, bringing down not only sheets of ice but great quantities of coarse pebbles which scoured their beds and undermined their desolate banks. Rivers like the Spey, the Findhorn, the Dee, and the Don changed their courses frequently, as they flooded wide areas, especially when " ice blocks " occurred. In their fury and erosive tendencies they must have resembled the rivers of Canada in our own time.

During these periods of sharp oscillations of climate and alternating glacial and interglacial conditions, there were big " land movements " which greatly altered the extent and features of the Scottish coasts. Of these the " raised beaches "—the " bonnie green braes " of Scottish poetry—are enduring and picturesque memorials. In the Fourth Glacial Epoch the land sank until the sea rose about 130 feet above its present level. The 100-foot beaches, which are conspicuous features in the broad valleys of the Clyde,

the Forth, and the Tay, were then washed, as their relics show, by seas abounding with Arctic fauna.

After the ice had vanished, the land rose and extended beyond the limits of the present coast-line. The land sank again during the Fifth Glacial Epoch, and the storms of winter and spring caused the angry seas to lash and shape the forty-five- to fifty-foot beaches—those braes of sand, clay, silt, and gravel which we now see covered with green turf, blossoming bushes, and alluring wild flowers.

The Sixth Glacial Epoch was accompanied by another widespread sinking of the land, the seas washing round the twenty-five- to thirty-foot beaches—the lowest and youngest braes of the Scottish coasts and estuarine valleys. When this epoch gradually declined and genial conditions began to prevail, the land rose once again. This was the last land movement, and it appears to have commenced some centuries after 3000 B.C.

The causes of those wonderful land movements still remain obscure. A theory which is greatly favoured is that the whole country had been depressed by the weight of each tremendous ice-sheet, and as that burden slowly lessened, the land began to rise. As has been indicated, the various sinkings were most marked during the epochs of glaciation. Another theory, that each glaciation was caused by the land rising from some mysterious cause so that the mountains reached the level of eternal snow, was in 1913 declared by the late Professor James Geikie to be a " discarded " one.

The land movements do not appear to have been of sudden and disastrous character, accompanied by great earthquakes, but rather very gradual indeed. Nor were they caused merely by local happenings. The whole north of Europe was affected by the changing conditions as the

ice-sheet advanced or retreated. When the last land movement was in progress, Scotland was gradually rising, while the south of England was gradually but surely sinking.

It may be that earthquakes were in post-glacial times of more frequent occurrence than is nowadays the case. In this connexion one may recall that during an intensely cold period in the winter of 1200–1, earthquake shocks became frequent. Our authority is Boece, but it is uncertain how much reliance should be placed upon his statement that from 6th January till 1st February, 1201, there were daily earthquake shocks in Scotland.

Interesting discoveries made at Inchnadamph in the county of Sutherland take us back to the valley-glacier stages of the Pleistocene Age. In 1889 a cave there was found by geologists to contain the bones of animals now extinct in Scotland. In 1926 excavations, which revealed the presence of man during a period of severe climate, were conducted by Edinburgh archæologists in three caves and their subsidiaries. One of the caves was named " Reindeer cave ", because its oldest layer yielded the shed antlers, mostly broken, of over four hundred young reindeer. Other members of an Arctic fauna were also represented.

Behind this cave a descending shaft was found to lead to an inner cave of greater dimensions, containing deposits of glacial silt and well-rounded polished pebbles, from which were taken fragmentary bones of the reindeer, the Arctic fox, &c. Most interesting of all was a small but unmistakable bone of the long-extinct cave-bear, an animal which on the Continent figures in the cave art of the Cro-Magnon races of the period immediately following upon the Fourth Glacial Epoch.

Traces of early man were found in the " Reindeer cave ". The earth in the upper layer, containing the bones of

modern Scottish animals and of bears, enclosed also a human skeleton, portions of another, and two bone implements. It is recorded that " no human interment was found in the reindeer gravel, but there was clear evidence of the presence of man, indicated by a simple reindeer horn implement, by humanly cut and scratched reindeer antlers, and by fragments of charcoal ".

The reindeer antlers and many of the fragmentary bones appear to have been washed into the cave by flood-water from the margin and surface of a valley glacier.

Evidence of human activities during one of the later glacial epochs, when the land had sunk and the rising sea had crept far inland, has been obtained in the valley of the Forth. In 1877 the skeleton of a Balænoptera whale was discovered during the course of drainage operations on the estate of Meiklewood, a few miles to the west of the town of Stirling. Lying on the skull of this whale was a stag-horn implement with a cutting edge. This interesting relic is now preserved in the Anatomical Museum of the University of Edinburgh. When that whale swam so far inland, the Forth estuary must have been much broader and deeper than it is in our own time. The firth in those far-off days penetrated as far westward as the vicinity of Stirling, and the primitive hunters in that area apparently gorged themselves on the red flesh of the whales which were occasionally stranded in shallows, as was recently a school of " Killer whales " in the shallow Dornoch Firth, near Bonar Bridge.

Finds of ancient human relics, as well as of human bones, have been made at Oban and its vicinity. The MacArthur cave has yielded relics of the period prior to the beginning of the last land movement. It was laid bare in 1894 on the face of a cliff by workmen engaged in quarrying building

material. Although situated in the heart of Oban, and about thirty feet above sea-level, this cave was originally on the shore, and there it served as a shelter for human beings.

A careful investigation of the debris contained in the MacArthur cave was conducted soon after its discovery. The upper layer of dark earth yielded two human skulls and other bones; in the second layer were found human implements, animal and fish bones, sea-shells, &c. Deposits of sea-worn shingle, interrupting the human record, indicated that the cave was occasionally invaded by high tides, rendering it uninhabitable. Some of the shingle may, however, have been carried into the cave by human beings to cover the accumulated debris of meals, &c., for this appears to have been the only kind of " spring cleaning " favoured by primitive beachcombers.

The implements included worked flints and deer-horn harpoons, which the French archæologist, the Abbé Breuil, has identified as of Azilian type—that is, of the industry which was of earlier origin in western Europe than that known as Neolithic.

Other finds of pre-Neolithic harpoons were subsequently made at the base of the steep rock shelter of Druimvargie,[1] near Oban. This site adjoins marshy land which must have been submerged by the sea during the period when the MacArthur cave was situated on the beach. The Druimvargie folk were therefore " beachcombers " like the Obanites of antiquity. It is uncertain, however, whether or not the different groups were contemporaries. If they were, they must have come under the influences of prehistoric cultures which differed somewhat in character. The Druimvargie harpoons are of bone and have but a single

[1] Pronounced with hard *g*, as *drum-var'a-gee*.

row of barbs, while those of the MacArthur cave, which are of horn, are barbed on both sides.

Harpoons of red-deer horn of similar character to those preserved in the MacArthur cave have been found in France and Spain and are called Azilian. The Druimvargie harpoons resemble more closely the bone harpoons of the Baltic area which have been named Maglemosian.

In the MacArthur cave, however, were found bones of the domesticated dog, which was not kept by the Azilians, but was introduced into Europe from Asia by the Maglemosians.

Azilian flints, &c., have been unearthed from ancient rubbish heaps left by early " beachcombers " on the island of Oronsay, Argyllshire.

It is generally assumed, on the basis of the available evidence, that the Maglemosians of the Baltic area were the ancestors of the fair-haired and blue- or grey-eyed Northerners, while the Azilians of western Europe were a branch of the dark-haired, brown-eyed Mediterranean race.

The Azilians appear to have walked into England from the Continent across the English Channel land-bridge during the Fifth Interglacial Epoch, carrying with them their characteristic barbed harpoons and flint implements. Then, following the coast-line, they must have moved northward until they reached the country we now know as Scotland.

When the land rose after the Fifth glaciation a considerable portion of the North Sea plain was restored. The Dogger Bank, which marks its highest elevation, has yielded quantities of ancient peat called " moor-log ", traces of dry-soil plants and fossil bones of various animals, including the " Irish elk ", the reindeer, the red-deer, the wild ox, the wolf,

and the bear. As much of the vegetation traced is of the swamp species, it would appear that a considerable area of the plain was fen land. Great rivers flowed northward to the east and west of the Dogger Bank area. The Meuse and Rhine, for instance, were united beyond the present coast-line and received as tributaries the Thames and other east-coast English rivers now flowing into the North Sea.

It may seem improbable that such a river-cut and marshy plain would have been crossed by migrating bands of Maglemosians from the Baltic area; but when the Sixth Glacial Epoch was being ushered in, the winters must have been of increasing severity and the rivers and fens would consequently be frozen over, affording easy passage for human beings and the animals they hunted.

That such migrations did actually take place is suggested by the recent finds of two bone harpoons of Maglemosian type in Holderness, near Hull, Yorkshire. One was discovered at Hornsea under peat and in association with the bones of the red-deer, and the other under peat at Skipsea, associated with the skeleton of an " Irish elk ".

Traces of Azilian migrations across the English Channel land-bridge have not been forthcoming in southern England, the reason being that they must be lying beneath the present sea-level, as are the trees of the Lower and Upper Forestian periods which in Scotland are found at higher levels embedded in peat.

The archæological evidence afforded by the Argyllshire and the Forth valley finds indicates that man lived in Scotland during the Fifth Interglacial and Sixth Glacial Epochs, perpetuating the cultures imported from the Continent which have been named Azilian and Maglemosian. It may be that the early settlers were representatives of dark and fair races.

We know that before the Fifth Glacial Epoch the earlier Continental cultures of the Cro-Magnon races were imported into England and Wales. Indeed, it is certain that the Cro-Magnons themselves were among the carriers of these cultures, for the skeleton of a tall Cro-Magnon man was discovered as far back as 1823 in the " Goat's Hole " cave of Paviland, near Rhossilly, Gower Peninsula, South Wales. The artifacts (articles made by man) associated with it have since been identified as Aurignacian—that is, of the first culture introduced from North Africa into Europe by *homo sapiens* (modern man). The latest phase of the culture of the Cro-Magnons is known as the Magdalenian, and it was supplanted by Azilian in western Europe and Maglemosian in the Baltic area.

Traces of the influence of Magdalenian culture in ancient Scotland have been detected by the Abbé Breuil in a collection of worked flints from the twenty-five- to thirty-foot raised beach at Campbeltown, Argyllshire. It is, therefore, not improbable that the early settlers in Scotland, during the Upper Forestian or Fifth Interglacial Epoch, included representatives of the Upper Palæolithic peoples, and that in the early Scottish racial " blend " there were not only dark Iberians and fair Northerners, but also tall and athletic Cro-Magnons with the high cheek bones, deep chests, and long legs so characteristic of their race.

CHAPTER II

The Early Agricultural Age

When men were merely " food gatherers " who hunted wild animals and caught fish in rivers and around the coasts, as did the cave-dwellers and woodlanders of Argyll and the Forth valley, only very limited numbers could occupy a particular area. Their movements were controlled by those of the animals, and in winter deer migrated from mountainous districts, sometimes leaving groups of hunters isolated in their shelters. The activities of the fishermen were greatly limited around the coasts during stormy weather and in the valleys when the rivers were in flood. There were consequently alternate periods of plenty and famine.

In the old Gaelic folk-tales which are concerned with the hunting and fishing communities who perpetuated the pre-agricultural mode of life, we are afforded glimpses of cave dwellings and memories of the season of " leanness " and severe weather. One narrative tells of a swift-footed scout being sent out in spring " to look for the deer ", while his companions " gathered limpets at Loch Snizort ". When at length the languid beachcombers heard " the shrill, hard cry " of the scout, announcing that he had sighted deer, the others spat out the unsavoury shell-fish, one exclaiming, " Now we shall have men's food! "

Another story pictures the men and women and their families confined in their shelter during a long hard winter when the snow blocked the passes and food was scarce. The men were growing paler and leaner and some had been prostrated by " winter sickness ". They wondered greatly to find that the women kept their health and colour, and one curious man who spied upon them discovered that they made a broth by using, according to one version of the tale, the topmost shoots of fir trees and, according to another, the roots of ferns. Apparently the women dwelt apart from the men.

An ancient poem tells of a wild winter night when a group of cave-dwellers crouched together in the cold and darkness. Snow and sleet fell so thickly that they were unable to hear the sound of the waves.

> " The face of the elements is to the east,
> White snow and black deluge:
> What makes the field so cold
> Is the hard-drifting and falling snow."

They saw no beauty in " the bird-killing snow ".

A story of cave-life, which became attached to the memory of the Fenian hunters, affords us an arresting and somewhat amusing vision of archaic manners and customs. It is told that the group included the mother of the one-eyed hero Goll. She was very old, and being toothless, the biggest bones were reserved for her because her sole food was the marrow. One day a growing youth named Coireal refused to give up to her a marrow bone from which he had stripped the flesh. Goll protested angrily, but the youth remained defiant. Then the chief intervened, suggesting that the pair should engage in a " tug-of-war " for the bone. It looked at first as if Coireal would succeed

in retaining possession of it. Thereupon the chief, intervening again, decided that Goll should grasp the thickest part of the bone. In the end the elder man obtained possession of it but, exasperated by the struggle, had become so furious that he flung it at the young man's head. "Coireal saw it coming and bent his head out of the way. The bone struck the old woman and killed her."

Apparently the others, excepting the slayer, experienced no regret in connexion with the tragedy. The Gaelic proverbial saying, "Thanks to Goll; he has killed his mother!" may still be heard repeated when a nuisance is got rid of by the action of the individual responsible for it.

The Pre-Agricultural Age was in Scotland, as elsewhere, one of complete stagnation. Progress was impossible so long as groups of people were kept constantly in a state of anxiety regarding the food supply.

Modern civilization is rooted in the agricultural mode of life. The discovery of agriculture was made in the East, probably in ancient Egypt. There the barley and millet grasses were naturally cultivated by the rising and falling Nile, which forms irrigation channels. After the cereals had become plump enough to attract the attention of man to their food value, the early farmers assisted Nature to produce grain more abundantly by breaking the soil, scattering seed, and clearing sand-blocked channels. The food thus obtained in increasing quantities could be stored up for the period of leanness, and it then became possible to maintain larger communities in restricted areas. It also became possible to keep and feed domesticated animals.

As the population increased, the areas of permanent settlement were extended and searches were made for suitable farming land. These searches were facilitated by

the invention of the river boat, which was gradually developed into the deep-sea ship.

Man sought out many inventions and made many new discoveries. As his needs increased, searches were made for materials that had come into use. The discovery of how to work metals by using the limited quantities of local ores, stimulated pioneers to set out on journeys and voyages of exploration, to locate and collect more abundant supplies.

Timber was scarce in Egypt, and the searchers for woodlands stimulated the craft of boat building and the science of navigation. In Lower Mesopotamia, another cradle of civilization, ores and stone had to be located and worked in the distant areas, and from these areas they were transported.

The early prospectors and explorers gradually opened up new areas which they colonized and exploited, and the various colonies " budded " new colonies in the course of time, with the result that the agricultural mode of life was introduced into new areas, and with it new industries and new manners and customs.

The earliest prominent centre of civilization in Europe was the island of Crete, which was colonized by seafarers who had acquired the elements of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian cultures. In time Cretan influence and that of other centres in western Asia permeated large areas in eastern Europe and spread round the coasts of the country which was to become known as Greece, towards the area we know as Italy and ultimately as far westward as the countries that have become known as Spain and Portugal. In inland Europe the valley of the Danube was from an early period an avenue for the transmission of the elements of civilization.

It is necessary thus to refer, however briefly, to the results of modern research regarding the origin and growth of civilization, to realize how the germs of progress were introduced into Scotland. The adoption in our native land of the agricultural mode of life was a quick step, or rather, a " sudden leap " forward. A backward and unprogressive country peopled by wandering hunters and fishermen then became capable of development.

The archæologist, whose main concern is with artifacts (articles made by man), refers to the new epoch as the Neolithic Age. It is evident, however, that the revolutionary social changes that occurred were not due merely to the introduction of new methods of working flint and the polishing of implements of stone with purpose to secure a finer cutting edge, but rather to the adoption of the habit of producing food which could be stored and used between the harvests. When agriculture was first introduced into western Europe, there occurred simultaneously the sudden transplanting of the elements of an already complex civilization that had a long history in the Eastern areas of origin and development. A beginning was made in keeping domesticated animals, in manufacturing pottery, in spinning and weaving, in the construction and use of boats, in house building, and in the formation of settled communities which were subjected to the discipline of imported laws and religious systems. Western Neolithic civilization was thus of much later origin than Eastern. It not only began at a more advanced stage but developed local features. When the West was being exploited by the East, its progress was limited by the specialized activities of those who visited it to obtain supplies of the materials in which they traded. It appears, for instance, that ores were collected and exported by sea to Eastern centres of industry long before

metals were smelted and made use of for the manufacture of implements in Western mining areas. The term Neolithic may therefore be much misused in a chronological sense.

The pioneers of early agricultural civilization did not reach ancient Britain, as did those who imported the pre-agricultural industries, called Azilian and Maglemosian, by walking across ancient " land-bridges ". During the Sixth Glacial Epoch, as we have seen, changes occurred in the levels of land and sea. The waters of the English Channel met those of the colder North Sea, and processions of drifting icebergs passed through the narrow strait of Dover, which was being gradually widened by reaving seas and scouring shingles.

The " carriers " into ancient Britain of the Neolithic industries and of cereals for cultivation were undoubtedly daring and enterprising mariners. Boats had been in use in the eastern Mediterranean before Scotland was wholly clear of ice, and prospectors were searching for gold, copper, and timber, and for the semi-precious stones to which they had attached a religious value.

There must have been a psychological motive concerned with human needs for the earliest voyages from the Continent to the strange and uninviting coasts of Britain. It could not have been due to idle curiosity alone that the pioneers ventured across perilous seas to explore pathless woods and plains and penetrate mountainous areas.

Nor did the prospectors confine their attention to southern Britain alone. Scotland has yielded important evidence of early maritime activities during the period which followed upon the Sixth Glacial Epoch, when the last land movement was just beginning and the country was still being subjected to periodic oscillations of climate.

Ancient deep-sea boats, which have been discovered in the Clyde valley, arrived in that area when the river was flowing at a much higher level than at present and the terraces upon which a large portion of the city of Glasgow has been built were being gradually deposited and moulded by the action of water. Some of the boats were discovered about twenty feet above the present sea-level.

According to Mr. John Buchanan, the Glasgow antiquary, writing in 1855, no fewer than seventeen ancient boats had been dug out of estuarine silt in the Clyde valley before that date. Five were discovered at different levels on or near the water-shaped terraces within the precincts of Glasgow. One was lying in a vertical position as if it had foundered during a storm. Another boat lay bottom uppermost.

Some of these ancient boats were " dug outs " of oak, a few having been cut " beautifully smooth ".

" Two of them were built of planks, one of the two, dug up on the property of Bankton in 1853, being eighteen feet in length, and very elaborately constructed. Its prow was not unlike the beak of an antique galley; its stern, formed of a triangular-shaped piece of oak, fitted in exactly like those of our day. The planks were fastened to the ribs, partly by singularly-shaped oaken pins, and partly by what must have been square nails of some kind of metal; these had entirely disappeared, but some of the oaken pins remained. This boat had been upset, and was lying keel uppermost, with the prow pointing straight up the river.

" In one of the canoes, a beautifully polished celt or axe of greenstone was found; in the bottom of another was a plug of cork."

As the late Professor James Geikie has reminded us, this boat with a plug of cork " could only have come from the latitudes of Spain, southern France, or Italy " where cork

trees grow. The greenstone axe was a Neolithic import, but the boat which had metal nails must have been constructed by a people familiar with the mining and smelting of copper and was therefore not Neolithic in the strict sense of the term.

The Clyde boats may be relics of different centuries, or of some peoples who were deep-sea voyagers and of others who were local fishermen and traders. Their chief interest to us is the evidence they afford of the arrival in Scotland of mariners and boat-builders from various areas. Lyell has commented in this connexion:

> " We may conclude that the last upheaval of twenty-five feet took place not only since the first human population settled in the island, but long after metallic implements came into use."

It does not follow, however, that because a boat with copper nails, which had, perhaps, been partly shaped by metal tools, reached Scotland at an early period that either the crew, or the people they met with in the Clyde valley, could consequently become familiar with the working of metals. If the boat carried miners and copper-smiths, these could, had they located deposits of metals, have inaugurated metal-working in Scotland, but probably the crew merely collected and shipped the ores. The greenstone axe associated with one of the boats is of special interest. It is of Neolithic type, but an imitation in stone of a copper prototype. All these finely-balanced polished axes are eloquent of the skill developed by artisans in the civilized East, as are also the " dug out " canoes, which imitated boats of lighter material.

Copper was for a long period scarce and precious, and stone was a useful substitute for manufacturing implements. After all, mariners had little need for metals, and the same

may be said of the early agriculturists who used hoes and spades of hard wood. Even ploughs of wood continued in use in Scotland until a comparatively late period in its history. Trees could be felled partly by the use of stone axes and partly by the application of fire. Boats were certainly constructed with other than metal tools as they were by those wonderful mariners of the coral islands of the Pacific. In this connexion it may be recalled that fine woodwork was accomplished by the Polynesians, who when constructing boats cut down trees and dubbed out planks with their polished stone adzes. One missionary tells of a South Sea island artisan who with his Neolithic adze could take very delicate shavings from very hard wood. Skill, as he has emphasized, was an important element in the use of such a stone implement. " With all the teaching of the native," the missionary had to confess, " I could only make a dent where I tried to raise a shaving."

Fishermen in ancient Scotland could, like the Polynesians, make hooks tipped with shell or with pieces of small flint like the microliths of the Tardenoisian industry detected by our archæologists, and withal manufacture and mend nets with flat needles of wood. The harvesting operations were facilitated in some areas by the use of those small flint sickles, edged with numerous minute teeth, which used to be called " saws ", but are now known to have been attached to handles of wood. Similar sickles were known in ancient Egypt.

Primitive methods of agriculture were in Scotland perpetuated from early times till well within the historical period. Indeed, Martin saw in the seventeenth century the harvesters of St. Kilda plucking from the ground handfuls of grain which they drew out by the roots. A similar practice obtained in our own time in some parts of Crete.

Poseidonius, who visited Britain in the first century before our era, reached an area where the people harvested their corn by cutting off the ears of corn which they placed in underground pits. From these pits " they take out each day the corn which has been longest stored and dress the ears for food ". In the tomb pictures of ancient Egypt we can see industrious harvesters cutting off the ears of barley and wheat.

Martin witnessed in the Hebrides a primitive but yet most effective method of releasing grain from the husk:

" A woman, sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame. She has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grains at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt; for if she miss of that, she must use the kiln; but experience has taught them the art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground and baked, within an hour after reaping from the ground."

" Gradan meal ", as the meal made from scorched grain was called, was common in 1793, when John Lane Buchanan published his *Travels in the Western Hebrides*. It was less common when Professor John Walker published his *Economical History of the Hebrides* in 1812 and when James MacDonald published his *General View of the Agriculture of the Hebrides* in 1811. Buchanan says (p. 103): " They burn the straw of the sheaf to make the pats dry for meal; and though the grain is black by the ashes, and the meal coloured, yet it is not unpleasant to the taste, and it is thought to be very wholesome food. This, with most of their oatmeal, they grind on *braahs*, a kind of mill similar to the quern, but made of harder stone, and of the same magnitude with quern millstones, being about three feet in diameter and four or five inches thick." Walker and MacDonald

both describe the manufacture of " gradan meal ". The former (Vol. II, p. 369) says: " Not only the people of the Highlands, but most strangers, prefer the bread made of this parched corn to that which is prepared in the ordinary way. The difference is something like what is observed between a roasted and a boiled egg, or between a roasted and a boiled potato." MacDonald says (p. 213): " We found it (gradan meal) rather unpleasant, on account of its burnt peaty taste; but would probably be reconciled to it in the course of time."

The ancient mariners who imported seeds and agricultural implements and taught the natives how to produce food which could be stored, must have also given instruction regarding the magical and religious customs connected with the agricultural mode of life, which were embodied in myths regarding the weather-controlling and season-controlling deities. The adoption of the agricultural calendar was also necessary, and it required a certain knowledge of the movements of the heavenly bodies. The " clock " of the seasons was the constellation of the " Great Bear " (*Ursa Major*), known also as the " Plough " and " Charlie's Wain ". Its " tail " or " pointer " is directed eastward in spring, southward in summer, westward in autumn, and northward in winter. The fact that it moves to the right, or " by the south ", made human movements in that direction (*deiseil*) lucky or propitious, and the reverse movement (*tuathal* or *widdershins*) unlucky or wrong. Its seven stars appear to have invested the number 7 with its mystical significance. The ancient Egyptians of the Pyramid Age called the stars of *Ursa Major* the " Imperishable Ones ", and their gods became the members of the crew in the boat of the sun-god Re.

The relations between the agricultural colonists and the

natives with whom they came into contact were, no doubt, on the whole of pacific character. There could be little cause for agricultural communities waging war with the wandering bands of hunters, and if any protective earthworks or stockades were constructed during the early agricultural period, they were probably intended to prevent the inroads of wild animals rather than of human beings. Wolves and bears prowled in the forests, and during winter must have caused anxiety and fear.

It was not until after the knowledge of how to manufacture bronze was introduced that a beginning was made in organized warfare. By that time Scotland appears to have been fairly well populated. In almost every parish the short stone-lined graves of the agriculturists are to be found, and many which have never been recorded were no doubt destroyed during the past two thousand years.

The earliest bronze artifacts were imported from the Continent. As much is indicated by the composition of the alloy—about 10 per cent of tin to about 90 per cent of copper, proportions which resulted from long experience in ancient industrial centres. Apparently the great island of Britain was not left in a state of " splendid isolation ". Prospectors from the Continent had discovered that there were extensive deposits of tin-stone in the south-western area, and there also and elsewhere alluvial gold, copper, &c. At first, as suggested above, the ores may have been collected and shipped to industrial centres on the Continent, but in time the process of smelting was inaugurated in Britain. Miners and artisans must have been filtering into the country, and these may have been the " broad-headed " peoples whose skeletons are found in graves some of which contain articles of bronze. The earlier settlers were mainly " long-headed ".

Small bronze pins came into use, as did also dagger-like blades which are often found in England and Ireland, but rarely in Scotland.

In the course of time there were intrusions of warrior bands. The earliest weapons were spears with tanged bronze heads and flanged axes, the latter being, of course, suitable also for tools. Then came the period of improved spears, socketed axes, and leaf-shaped swords which were used for thrusting like modern bayonets. During the latter part of the archæological Bronze Age round shields of bronze were also introduced. The story told by these weapons is an unmistakable one. Ancient Britain had become sufficiently prosperous to attract the conqueror.

The comparative study of weapons indicates whence the warlike intruders came. According to the British Museum *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, the bronze halberts of Ireland are "very like those of Spain", while the forms found in Britain resemble more closely those of northern France, "which was in its turn supplied to a certain extent from Italy through the passes of the Alps and by sea to Marseilles".

Intrusions of bronze-using people with broad heads, who placed beaker urns in graves, took place along the eastern coasts of Britain. They are usually referred to as the "Beaker Folk", and the pottery evidence appears to indicate that they came across the North Sea. The motives for their migrations remain obscure. In some areas, as, for instance, in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, they appear to have been the earliest settlers. Their dead were buried in short stone-lined graves and therefore necessarily in a crouched position. The skeletons show that the average stature was no more than about five feet four inches. Skulls are found to be broad and the faces comparatively short. The worn-

down condition of the teeth indicates that they were agriculturists who milled their cereals in stone querns which deposited grit. A solid oak spade, which bears evidence of having been in use for some time, discovered in a Buchan peat moss, may have belonged to the Beaker Folk. Bronze swords and bronze axes suggest that there was occasional warfare. Small implements of flint and flint spear-heads indicate, however, that the Neolithic industry was not wholly abandoned. Indeed, it would appear that many Scottish Neolithic finds should be regarded as occupational relics rather than relics of a definite archæological period. It is hazardous to assume that a flint arrowhead or polished stone axe which has been picked up or unearthed is necessarily a relic of the so-called Neolithic Age.

The Scottish bronze finds, as a whole, indicate that an active and enterprising people had spread all over the country during a genial period when forests were flourishing in areas, including the Outer Hebrides and the Orkneys and Shetlands, where trees no longer grow except when cultivated by man. The country must have abounded with game; and salmon and trout were no doubt plentiful in the rivers and the lochs. Skilled artisans were to be found in all districts, as is indicated by finds of stone moulds. The metallurgy of the Scottish Bronze Age was of a high standard, and many artifacts betray artistic taste, indicative of refinement of thought and feeling. Copper ores were located and mined in various areas as far north as Kishorn in the county of Ross and Cromarty and in Orkney and Shetland. If no tin-stone was to be found in Scotland—and in this connexion there can be no certainty—the necessary supplies of tin for the local manufacture of bronze must have been imported by traders from Cornwall or elsewhere. There

is every indication that the weapon-using aristocracies controlled prosperous and flourishing communities. We know nothing of the social organization, nor can we name the people who had achieved ascendancy as conquerors. They appear, however, to have been definitely non-Celtic.

The Bronze Age civilization of Scotland ultimately became decadent and was supplanted by that of the Iron Age, but not in some areas, it would appear, until after a lapse of time. It may well be that the process of decadence was in no small measure due to a gradual deterioration of the climate, a succession of cold and wet seasons favouring the formation of peat and therefore the denudation of forests and the reduction of the areas suitable for pasture and cultivation. Many relics of the Bronze Age have been discovered deeply embedded in or under peat.

In England the early agricultural " long-headed " peoples who perpetuated the Neolithic industries buried their distinguished dead in " long barrows ", while the bronze-using " broad-headed " people buried them in " round barrows ". Finds of " broad-heads " in " long barrows " and of " long-heads " in " round barrows " indicate that cult or racial fusions had taken place. In Scotland the chambered cairns are usually regarded as varieties of the Neolithic English " long barrows ", but in one of them at Camster in Caithness an iron knife was found. Graves were, however, after all, expressions of religious beliefs and customs, and a people did not necessarily adopt new habits of thought when they substituted metal implements for those of stone. " Round barrows " are rare in Scotland. A few have been located in Fife, and others that existed elsewhere may have been destroyed by agriculturists.

It may well be, however, that during the Bronze Age there were racial and cultural drifts into Scotland direct

from the Continent, not only across the North Sea, but from ancient France and ancient Spain. There is archæological evidence which suggests that certain groups of settlers in ancient Scotland did not migrate by way of either ancient England or ancient Ireland.

CHAPTER III

Pre-Celtic Scotland

There are no written records to render articulate the Bronze or Pre-Celtic Age of Scotland. When we undertake to explore it for historical material, its silence becomes almost oppressive. We feel as if we had entered a long-deserted mansion house of a vanished family of uncertain origin who, although they lived among scenes familiar to us, loving the same hills and valleys of home, yet spoke a language we could not have understood.

We gaze with interest and wonder at those of their relics which have survived the ravages of time. Here are collections of the bronze swords, the bronze spear-heads, and the bronze shields and armlets of doughty warriors; there the ornaments of amber and jet and pure gold which were worn by stern and proud aristocrats and their fair ladies. Those odd and somewhat crude vessels of pottery contained the food they ate; those bronze safety-pins fastened the garments of light materials they were accustomed to wear. Skilled and busy workers were in these olden times engaged in providing for the needs of the tribes. Miners and metal-smiths and traders were being constantly employed, as were also tree-fellers, sawyers, and carpenters, while food was provided by agriculturists, hunters, and fishermen, and wool was shorn from sheep to be spun and woven for clothing.

A few specimens of the costumes worn by men and women during this period have survived the ravages of time. In Jutland and Schleswig discovery has been made of one or two Early Bronze Age oak coffins in which were garments in a wonderful state of preservation. Women wore long woollen skirts and bodices of the same material with sleeves reaching to the elbows; their headdress was a close-fitting bonnet of woven net fastened by cords below the chin. Men favoured long and wide woollen capes, and they wrapped round their bodies woollen plaids which were suspended from their shoulders and came down to their knees, being drawn in at the waist by belts fitted with bronze buckles and fastened above and below with artistic safety-pins. Of special interest is the fact that the weave of the cloth, which was coloured with vegetable dyes, closely resembles that of modern " Harris tweed ".

A woollen hood found in a peat bog in St. Andrew's Parish, Orkney, has a fringe fifteen inches in depth which resembles closely a fringed portion of a woman's dress found in the peat bog of Haraldskjaer, Jutland. If it is not of the Bronze Age, it shows that the fashions of that period survived for long centuries.

Heavier garments must have been worn in winter. In 1861 there was discovered under six feet of peat at Derrykeighan in County Antrim, Ireland, a cape of otter skins. " The workmanship of the sewing," wrote the late Mr. Robert MacAdam, the Belfast antiquary, " is wonderfully beautiful and regular; and the several parts are joined so as not to disturb the fur, so that from the outside it looks as if formed of one piece."

The Bronze Age artifacts of Scotland are widely distributed and give evidence of a high degree of skill and artistic taste. Of special interest are the ornaments of gold, because these

touch upon a problem of fundamental importance in dealing with the attractions which Scotland offered to the intruders of the Bronze Age.

In archæological circles due recognition has not been given to the fact that gold was widely distributed in Scotland. Indeed, in historic times much more gold has been discovered in Scotland than in Ireland, and it is unlikely that during the Bronze Age no finds of gold were made and that the metal-workers of Scotland were wholly dependent, as has been assumed, on supplies imported from Ireland. During the reigns of James III, James IV, and James V not only alluvial but quartz gold was obtained in considerable quantities at Wanlockhead in Dumfriesshire, Leadhills in Lanarkshire, and elsewhere. The value of the Scottish gold collected in the reign of James V alone is estimated at about £200,000. Mr. R. W. Cochran Patrick, in his *Early Records relating to Mining in Scotland*, draws attention to a significant discovery by George Bowes, who early in the seventeenth century prospected for gold in the Leadhills area. At Stakemoss he penetrated to old shafts and workings. In a letter dated 21st June, 1604, he says of one of these:

> " Neither have I seen but few shaftes suncke in Scotland of so auncient time."

While cleansing " an ould worke " near it, he found it was 13 feet deep and that the ground had been in ancient times worked in an area 80 yards in length and 36 in breadth. Although he penetrated 34 yards through hard rock, he could not discover " the bottom or depth and both sides where the ould men wrought ". He found " little though good-like gold " and had hopes of finding much more " where this great ould worke hath beene ".

In the National Library of Scotland is a collection of papers from Sir Robert Sibbald's MSS. relating to the distribution of gold and other minerals in Scotland. The counties referred to include not only Dumfriesshire and Lanarkshire, but Caithness, Sutherland, Aberdeenshire, Angus, Perthshire, Fife, West Lothian, Roxburgh, and Peeblesshire.

It is evident, therefore, that M. Salomon Reinach was guilty of exaggeration when he referred to ancient Ireland as *un véritable Eldorado*. Of late, some archæologists have gone further than this by declaring that in prehistoric times Ireland was " the Eldorado of western Europe ", forgetting the ancient gold and silver mines of Spain and the Welsh gold mine worked by the Romans.

No ancient gold mines have been discovered in Ireland. All its gold found in ancient and modern times was alluvial. The fact that a much larger number of gold artifacts, dating back to the Bronze Age, have survived in Ireland than in England or Scotland is one that certainly cannot be disputed. It may be, however, that the formation of peat in the Green Isle during the latter part of the Bronze Age has helped to preserve much of the ancient treasure from modern vandals. Nor can it be overlooked, in the same connexion, that the Romans never occupied Ireland and therefore had no opportunity of divesting the natives of their accumulated gold. According to Polybius (II, 31) and Strabo (IV, c. 1, § 13), the Romans plundered the gold of the Celts of northern Italy and Gaul, and, no doubt, they treated the inhabitants of England, Wales, and Scotland in like manner.

During the Early Agricultural Age Pre-Celtic Scotland was reached by the people or peoples who erected stone monuments. Their enduring memorials are eloquent of their activities, which must have been intelligently directed, as

well as of their social organization. The bond which united communities and impelled them to engage in their laborious tasks was, no doubt, a religious one.

The monuments of the " megalithic people ", as they are generally called, " occupy ", as Professor T. Eric Peet has shown, " a very remarkable position along a vast seaboard which includes the Mediterranean coast of Africa and the Atlantic coast of Europe. In other words, they lie along a natural sea-route. . . . It is impossible," he adds, " to consider megalithic building as a mere phase through which many nations passed, and it must therefore have been a system originating with one race, and spreading far and wide, owing either to trade influence or migration."

The megalithic people were seafarers, and they must have originally come from an area in which stone was used for religious purposes, as in the construction of temples and tombs. Before they could have undertaken the erection of menhirs (single pillars), cromlechs (stone circles), or dolmens (table stones), they must have acquired considerable skill in transporting and erecting large blocks of stone. Some of the supporting stones of the dolmens weigh from 20 to 60 tons. It is evident that the erection of megaliths was a specialized craft which was not affected by changing technical processes in other spheres of activity. The workers may have possessed tools of stone or metal in different areas and at different periods, but these tools were of little use in connexion with megalith building.

Various theories have been advanced to explain the distribution of the megaliths. One is that they were erected by intruding agriculturists in those areas where trees were not numerous and the land could consequently be easily cultivated without the preliminary work of clearing such as was necessary in forest areas. A people who erected

stone monuments could, however, have well undertaken the work of felling trees.

Another theory is that the megalithic people were attracted to those districts in which metals, amber, jet, hæmatite (for body paint), pearl shell, &c., were to be found. The distribution of the monuments in western Europe and in England and Wales renders this view an attractive and suggestive one. When, however, we come to deal with Scotland, both these theories mentioned are subjected to a severe test.

There are various types of Scottish stone circles. The Northern mainland circles, of which the Clava group, near Inverness, is the most outstanding example, have chambered cairns with straight passages within the rings of stone pillars. In Aberdeenshire the circles possess distinctive characters. Recumbent blocks within them had some significance which remains obscure; the enclosed chambered cairns embedded in earth lack passages.

The Western circles from Arran to Skye are composed of rings or pairs of concentric rings of somewhat irregular shape. One between Brodick and Lamlash on the island of Arran surrounds a rock-cut tomb which suggests Mediterranean influence, and about 60 feet distant in a south-easterly direction is an outlying pillar 4 feet in height.

On the west coast of Lewis, near Loch Roag, is the group of Callernish (or Callanish) standing stones. It consists of a ring surrounding an impressive pillar at the foot of which is the base of a stripped burial cairn of careful construction and formed like a cross. A long avenue leads towards the circle from which three short arms radiate. The group resembles somewhat in form a Celtic cross.

At Stennis in Orkney is the circle known as the " Ring of Brogar " and the remains of the " Ring of Stennis ".

The most remarkable megalithic structure in this area, however, is the Maeshow tumulus, which is situated about a mile to the north-east of the " Ring of Stennis ". It consists of a stone-built chamber on three sides of which are small cells entered by narrow openings in the walls, giving the whole a shape resembling a swastika minus a single limb. The chamber is about 15 feet square and the walls are still about 13 feet high; it is entered from the west by a long low passage. This impressive tomb of Ægean type was covered with earth, forming a mound about 300 feet in circumference and 36 feet high, and it is surrounded by a trench 40 feet in width. Resembling it somewhat is the great corridor tomb at New Grange, near Drogheda, Ireland, the chamber of which is, however, in three divisions, the ground plan being in cross form. Both appear to have been erected by peoples from the Mediterranean area.

Dolmens, which are well represented in parts of England, in Wales, and in Ireland, are absent in Scotland.

What attractions, it may be asked, did the Hebridean islands possess for the megalith builders of the Bronze Age? Was alluvial gold collected in considerable quantities? Were purple-yielding shells an attraction? Copper and lead were to be found in Orkney and Shetland. On the mainland, as has been indicated, there were deposits of gold over wide areas, but once alluvial gold had been worked out, no evidence of its presence would remain. Silver lead was to be found at Linlithgow and elsewhere in the Lowlands.

An interesting fact regarding the Scottish megaliths is that many are found to be still invested with some degree of magical or religious significance. One still hears in some areas of vows made at stones, of wishes expressed at them

or at wells, of " cursing stones ", of secret visits to child-getting stones at a certain phase of the moon, of " slippy stanes " on which children slide in imitation of an interesting old custom, of the belief that if a stone circle is walked round to the left (widdershins) at midnight one can " raise the devil ", and of visits to stones for purposes of divination. In Gaelic certain megaliths are called " Stones of Worship ", and the oldest example seems to be *ail adrada*, " stone of worship " (*Old Irish Laws*, IV, 142, 16). Others are regarded as guiding stones which lead from one point to another, or as landmarks by which fishermen take their bearings, while some mark tidal channels. Certain stones set the boundaries of lands held by clans.

The custom of holding courts at circles, a custom known, by the way, to Homer, survived in Scotland well into historic times. The Bishop of Aberdeen in 1349 held a court at the Ring of Fiddes at which William de Saint Michael was called upon to explain the seizure of Church property. In 1380 Prince Alexander, son of King Robert II, remembered as " The Wolf of Badenoch ", held a court at a circle to which the Bishop of Moray was summoned in connexion with his claim to certain lands in Badenoch. A circle in Strathearn, Perthshire, was used as a court by the king's steward in the fourteenth century, and similar courts were held at circles at Crieff in Perthshire and Huntly in Aberdeenshire.

It would appear, therefore, that in ancient Scotland megalithic structures were used in connexion with the administration of law which had, of course, an intimate connexion with religion.

It does not follow, however, that the Scottish survivals support the theory that the megaliths were erected by Celtic peoples. We do not find them in all the Continental

areas overrun by the Celts. They are rare in the east and south-east of France, entirely absent in north and central Italy and also in south Germany and Austria, and there are no circles in Switzerland. On the other hand, they are numerous in some non-Celtic Continental areas.

Before passing from the Scottish Pre-Celtic Bronze Age and its peoples, consideration should be given to the chronological problem.

As we have seen, a genial climate prevailed for many centuries. During this period trees were flourishing in areas like the now treeless islands of Lewis and the Shetlands, as well as on the mainland moorlands and mountain slopes. Tree stools and stumps are to be found embedded in peat mosses which were gradually formed during the long wet period following upon the forest period. Some areas must have been denuded not only of trees, but of many of their human inhabitants. The Callernish stone circle in western Lewis was abandoned by those who had revered it for a long period. Its megaliths stand upon a well-drained mound, now quite dry, which was not as favourable for the growth of peat as the flat and swampy areas in its vicinity. Yet the growth there, as the coloration of the stones still indicates, was about five and a half feet. In another part of Lewis, Captain Thomas, writing in 1867, refers to the discovery under ten feet of peat of the ashes of a wood fire lying upon rock. The average depth of the peat formed in western Lewis during the cold epoch was eleven or twelve feet, but it was much greater in other districts. Mr. James Fraser, C.E., Inverness, writing on the Callernish circle in the *Transactions of the Inverness Scientific Society and Field Club* (Vol. VI), says:

" The growth of peat has been calculated at one inch in fifteen years, for what I understand to be ground fairly favourable to its

growth. The growth of eleven feet of peat would therefore mean a period of about 2000 years since its growth began."

Assuming that the Callernish stones were set up several centuries before the peat commenced to form, Mr. Fraser suggests that they date back about three thousand years—roughly, till 1000 B.C.

The archæologists are not in agreement regarding the chronology of the various Ages. Montelius, for instance, dates the Neolithic Age in western Europe 3500–1700 B.C., the Bronze Age 1800–700 B.C., and the Iron Age 700–500 B.C. On the other hand, Siret brings the Neolithic Age to an end at 1500 B.C., then allows three centuries for a Copper Age, dates the Bronze Age 1200–800 B.C., and the Iron Age 800–200 B.C. The Swedish school of archæology gives 1800 B.C. for the beginning of the Bronze Age in Scandinavia and admits that it commenced somewhat later in that area than in the British Isles.

The most convincing evidence regarding the chronology of the Bronze Age was provided in 1914 in an article by Professor A. H. Sayce in the first number of *The Journal of Egyptian Archæology*. He had examined a collection of blue copper-glazed beads in the Devizes Museum and identified them as Egyptian and of a type manufactured between 1450 and 1250 B.C. These beads " are met with plentifully in the Early Bronze Age tumuli of Wiltshire in association with amber beads and barrel-shaped beads of jet and lignite. Three of them come from Stonehenge itself."

There can be no doubt that these blue beads were manufactured in Egypt. Some archæologists may be sceptical in this connexion, but chemical analysis reveals that " Egyptain blue " could not have been produced in ancient times in any other country than Egypt. The beads are composed of a mixture of sandstone and copper, and it happens that

in Egyptian sandstone are the necessary proportions of lime and soda which caused them to assume their characteristic colour. The molten copper had, withal, to be brought to a specific high temperature above and below which shades of green were produced. When European artisans imitated the Egyptian process, they failed to produce " Egyptian blue " because of the absence in the local sandstones they used of the necessary proportions of soda and lime. Their beads, therefore, assumed a green colour. Experiments conducted in Edinburgh by that distinguished chemist, Dr. A. P. Laurie, have definitely established these interesting and important facts.

Egyptian blue beads have been unearthed in Spain and Crete. Apparently those found in south-western England were imported by ancient mariners. With the mariners, however, must have come artisans familar with the Egyptian process, because similar beads, but of a green colour, were manufactured in England and are found to have been distributed as far north as Scotland. They are usually referred to by archæologists as beads of " vitreous paste ".

Who were the carriers of these blue beads? Were they Egyptian mariners of the Eighteenth Dynasty, during which the Mediterranean became, as a result of the conquests of Thothmes III, an " Egyptian lake "? Or were they imported by mariners from Crete, the Cyclades, or Spain? It is impossible to say. During Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty bronze came into general use, tin apparently having become plentiful. The fact of outstanding interest is that these Egyptian blue beads establish definitely that the Early Bronze Age of England must be dated about the fourteenth century B.C. and not earlier than the fifteenth century B.C.

From the period of the Early Bronze Age until the coming in force of the Celts about a thousand years elapsed. During

these ten centuries there may have been many political changes, but of these nothing is known. The bronze weapons suggest wars and rumours of wars, and other relics testify to the existence of trading relations with the Continent.

In Scotland, as in England, Wales, and Ireland, we can only say of the relics of the archæological Bronze Age what Professor Breasted has said of the Pyramid Texts of ancient Egypt: "They vaguely disclose to us a vanished world of thought and speech, the last of the unnumbered æons through which prehistoric man has passed till he finally comes within hailing distance of us as he enters the historic age."

CHAPTER IV

Coming of the Celts

When the Celts of the Early Iron Age began to become familiar with Britain, they called its inhabitants the "Pretani" and the country itself "Albion". It has been suggested that "Albion" (*Alba*) meant "White Land", the reference being to the chalk cliffs of Dover, which were seen from the shores of Gaul gleaming whitely in the sunshine across the sapphire sea. Pokorny, however, holds that *Alba* has nothing to do with the Latin *albus* (white) and points out that all the *Alba* places in Italy are mountainous. He thinks the name is non-Aryan and means "mountain, height" as in "Alps".

It is uncertain whether or not "Pretani" was a tribal or national name, or merely a nickname signifying the "figured" or "painted" folk or, as some think, "the cloth-wearing people". The Greek form "Pretanoi" became in Latin "Brittani". According to Professor W. J. Watson, the Welsh term "Brython" is from the Latin "Britto", a shortened form used like the nickname "Scotty" for Scotsman. Ireland was referred to by Ptolemy and Pliny as "one of the Brettanic Isles"; it was, however, known in Greek as "Ierne" and in Latin as "Iverna" and "Iuberna" and ultimately "Hibernia", a change which, according to Professor Eoin MacNeill, had been suggested by the Latin word meaning "wintry". The same writer

suggests that the original form was " Iveri ", which may have been a local variant of " Iberi ", the name by which the people of Spain were known to the Greeks and Romans.

In Gaelic (the Q-Celtic tongue) an Old British (or P-Celtic) form like " Pretan " was rendered " Cruthen ", the plural of which is " Cruithne ", the initial " P " being supplanted by " C ". No ethnic significance can, however, be attached to any of the dialects of the Celtic language.

The Celts appear to have been filtering into ancient Britain, importing artifacts of iron, for some time before they began to arrive in considerable force and as conquerors —that is, about the fourth century B.C. Elsewhere they invariably occupied areas which possessed for them definite attractions either as colonial settlements for their surplus population or for the purpose of exploiting the natives whom they governed, forming military aristocracies; some communities were left by the Celts in a state of semi-independence on condition that they paid tribute.

It may be, before the Celts crossed the English Channel in force they had come to know, as did the Romans, according to Tacitus, at a later period, that " Britain produces gold and silver and other minerals, the profits of victory ". The control of the tin and copper of Cornwall was probably a prize worth obtaining, while, as we have seen, there were deposits of minerals elsewhere. Withal, the country was well settled by industrial and trading peoples, and the wealth and services of the conquered were what the Celts, like other military aristocrats, usually sought for and obtained.

The ethnics of the Celts is a much debated problem. We gather from various Greek writers like Arrian, Pausanias, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, who drew upon the lost works of earlier authors, that the Celtic men and women were tall and fair. One account states that at birth the

Celtic children had white hair, but as they grew up it assumed the colour of their fathers'. The evidence of Gaelic and Welsh literature confirms the Greek statements regarding Celtic pigmentation, for ancient songs composed by the bards of the aristocrats lauded fair women and men as ideal types of beauty.

The classical writings visualize the Celts as a people resembling in their habits of life the Achæans of Greece, with whom, indeed, some modern writers have connected them. They tilled the soil, kept large numbers of domesticated animals, and exported to Italy and elsewhere considerable quantities of cured pork. We gather from Julius Cæsar (*De Bell. Gall.*, IV, 2) that the Celts of Gaul were horse-tamers like the heroes of Homer. They spent large sums in rearing excellent horses in which they took great pride, and these contrasted sharply with the small and coarse ponies possessed by the Germans, who were, compared with them, a somewhat backward people. The Celts worked mines, using, according to Strabo (II, c. 2, § 9), Egyptian screws, cutting deep and tortuous channels and extracting ores of copper and other metals. They washed gold and tin from river sands. To gold they attached a religious value, depositing it in their temples, sacred groves, and sacred lakes. It is fully demonstrated by the evidence of archæology that they were masterly metallurgists and that they decorated bronze artifacts with enamels of various colours, displaying fine craftsmanship and great artistic skill and feeling.

The Celtic " culture cradle " was the north Alpine area in central Europe, the influence of which extended gradually into southern Germany and eastern France. Intrusions from the Near East brought about the introduction of iron, the war chariot, and the practice of cremation.

The first epoch of the central European Iron Age takes its name from Hallstatt in Austria, and its two phases have been dated from about 900 till 700 B.C. and from about 700 till 500 B.C. The influence of Hallstatt culture was slightly felt in southern Britain.

The second epoch of the Iron Age was definitely Celtic, the fair Celts having apparently become the governing class. It is known as La Tène and has been divided into three phases as follows:

La Tène I, 500–300 B.C.
La Tène II, 300–100 B.C.
La Tène III, 100– B.C.

The chariot-using Caledonians of Scotland were, like the ancient Celtic aristocrats of England, the importers of the La Tène culture.

Before dealing with the Caledonians, however, we must, with purpose to throw light on the Scottish Celtic problem, follow the movements of the Celts and other peoples on the Continent whose influences reached our native land.

Celts had settled in Italy during the sixth century B.C. In the fourth century B.C. fresh " waves " crossed the Alps and, moving southward, captured and sacked Rome. Invasions towards the East in the third century B.C. reached Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. Delphi was plundered in 279 B.C. Settlements were effected in Asia Minor in the area which subsequently became known as Galatia. Considerable parts of Germany and nearly all modern Belgium and Holland were subjected to Celtic rule.

The Celtic migrations into France date back to the Hallstatt epoch. Before 500 B.C. a beginning was made in the occupation and control of northern Spain. In La Tène

times the Celtic area in Spain was being extended in a south-westerly direction. The invaders met, however, with determined resistance from the mixed peoples who are vaguely referred to as the Iberians. Traditions of their conflicts are echoed in classical writings. Diodorus Siculus (V, 33), drawing upon Poseidonius, says that the Celts and Iberians were for a long period engaged in a fierce struggle for supremacy, but in the end they became friends and allies and intermarried. The mixed stocks subsequently became known as the Celtiberians. Similar fusions elsewhere are represented by group-names like Celtillyrians, Celto-Thracians, Celto-Scythians, and Gallo-Græcians.

In Spain and Portugal the Celts came into contact with communities of seafarers. The Easterners who had, many centuries earlier, established colonies in Iberia were displaced, apparently during the Bronze Age, but they had their successors. In the ninth century Carthage was being built, and in the next century Cadiz had been occupied by Phœnicians. If tin was being carried to that port from Cornwall, the mariners must have been pre-Phœnicians. About 500 B.C. Himilco, a Carthaginian explorer, set out on a voyage towards the north. A Greek translation of his lost account of his experiences was turned into Latin verse by Rufus Festus Avienus in the fourth century A.D. It refers to Iberian ships and Iberian tin deposits, to the use of skin boats, and not only to " the broad isle of the Albiones (Britain) ", but to the green island (Ireland) " thickly peopled by the Hierni ". Although the northern tin-yielding regions were unknown to Himilco, he says, if we can trust the Latin poet, that the Tartesii and even Carthaginians and people from round the Pillars of Hercules (Gibraltar) were accustomed to visit northern waters.

Ægean pirates and traders reached the western Mediter-

ranean at an early period. The island of Sardinia, for instance, appears to enshrine the memory of the Shardina clan or tribe of the Egyptian late Empire texts and the Homeric epics. A memory of ancient visits of Ægean wanderers to Spain is preserved by Herodotus (IV, 152) in the tradition regarding Colæus of Lamos, who was driven westward by an easterly gale and secured treasure which brought him about sixty talents, the equivalent of over £14,000. Ionian Greeks founded the colony of Massilia (Marseilles) about 600 B.C., and other Greek settlements were subsequently established in south-western Spain.

Ægean cultural influence, penetrating inland from the Mediterranean coast, may well have reached the Celtic peoples of Gaul. Indeed, it may be that La Tène civilization was, as some think, a blend of Hallstatt, Greek, and Etruscan, for the Etruscans were already in Italy.

The influence of the Iberian and Gaulish colonies appears also to have been carried by seafarers into Scotland. In the fourth century the Greek merchants of Marseilles sent the explorer Pytheas on a voyage to northern waters. He reached Britain, crossed the North Sea, and returned to Britain. It was either from his lost writings or those of his contemporary Timæus that Diodorus Siculus and Pliny learned that the most northern point in Britain was called Cape Orcas—the " Cape of the Boar clan ".

This is the first reference to the existence of a Pictish colony in northern Scotland. The organization of the Picts was dual, their clans being the Orcs (boars) and the Cats (cats). Professor W. J. Watson has shown in his Inverness paper on the Picts (1921) that the ancient Irish knew the Shetlands as Inse Catt (" Isles of the Cats ") and the Orkneys as Inse Orcc (" Isles of the Orcs "). Caithness was called by the Norse " Ness of the Cats " (" Katanes ").

In modern Gaelic the Caithness folk are " Gallaich " (" stranger folk "), but those of eastern Sutherland are in Gaelic the " Cataich " (" the Cat folk "). The Duke of Sutherland is " Diuc Chat " (" Duke of the Cats "). Like the ancient Egyptians, the Picts recognized descent by the female, not by the male line. They practised tattooing.

From what area on the Continent did the Orcs and Cats migrate to northern Scotland? In this connexion Professor W. J. Watson says that their collective name Picts " cannot be separated etymologically from Pictones, the name of a Gaulish tribe on the Bay of Biscay, south of the Loire, near neighbours of the Veneti (of Brittany) ". Variations of their ancient national name are Picti and Pecti, the latter form surviving in the Welsh Peithwyr (Pict-men), the Old English " Peohta ", the Old Scots " Pecht ", and the Old Norse " Pettr ". Ammianus, the Græco-Roman historian of the fourth century A.D., once gives " Pecti ". Professor Watson points out that the name of the Gaulish tribe shows the same variation between " Pict-ones " and " Pect-ones ".

The Pictones were seafarers. When Julius Cæsar waged his naval war against the Veneti of Brittany, who possessed large and strongly-built vessels capable of " riding out the gales of the Atlantic ", he received ships from the Pictones (*De Bell. Gall.*, III, 11). He tells that the Veneti were in the habit of trading with Britain (*ibid.*, III, 8) and that their allies included the seafaring peoples of northern France, Belgium, and Holland (*ibid.*, III, 9). Apparently the English Channel route to the North Sea and the Baltic was controlled by the Veneti. Their rivals, the Pictones, may have seized Scapa Flow and other naval bases to command the northern route to the North Sea, which must have been frequented by trading vessels because it was,

as has been indicated, crossed by Pytheas, the explorer, who ignored Cornwall and Ireland.

When, therefore, the Picts confront us at the dawn of history, we recall Longfellow's fine lines in " My Lost Youth ":

> " I remember the black wharves and the slips,
> And the sea-tides tossing free;
> And Spanish sailors with bearded lips,
> And the beauty and mystery of the ships,
> And the magic of the sea."

The Picts were seafarers and migrated long distances by sea. They never settled in England, Wales, or Ireland. The " Picts of Ireland " are mythical; the Irish people whom modern writers have misnamed " Picts " were the " Cruithne " (" Britons ").

The Picts were not only seafarers, but the builders of those wonderful round stone towers called the Brochs with which folk-memories of them are still associated. An old Irish poem which celebrates ancient heroes tells of King Labhraidh, who, in the latter part of the third century B.C., " ventured on the numerous isles of the Orcs ". Either he or his successor invaded Tiree and there " razed eight towers ". The ruins of at least five Brochs still survive on the island.

The name Broch (the Gaelic " brugh ") now means " tumulus " or " large house "; in Early Irish the form was " brug ", which signified " march " and " large holding "; the Old British form survives in Welsh as " bro ", meaning " region, country, land ", and the Gaulish form was " brogi ". The attempts to derive " Broch " from Norse are therefore futile.

In Orkney, Shetland, Caithness, and Sutherland the Brochs are most numerous, one estimate of the gross total in this

area being 362. The Hebridean group from Lewis to Tiree have about 80. In the county of Ross and Cromarty there are ten, and in Inverness-shire six. The counties of Angus, Stirling, Midlothian, Selkirk, and Berwick have each one; in Wigtownshire on the south-west there are three.

If the Orcs and Cats began to build Brochs soon after their arrival in the north, the oldest must date back till about the time of Alexander the Great. The Broch of Okstrow on the island of Birsay in the Orkneys must be very old. Its ruins were found embedded in a mound of thick and hardened soil, and above the foundation walls were a number of the slab-formed graves known as " short cists " which are characteristic of Bronze Age civilization. Unlike the Bronze Age people, however, those who constructed the Okstrow graves had cremated their dead. In one cist was an urn of stone containing charred human bones. The cremation custom was introduced by intruders of the Iron Age from the Continental Celtic area.

That Brochs were used by seafarers is indicated by those situated on promontories and islands. A Shetland Broch near Greenbank, North Yell, which stands on a headland, has a passage leading from its central court to a cave on the sea-beach beneath. In time of siege it could therefore receive reinforcements and supplies from ships.

On the northern mainland the Brochs are found far inland, occupying strategic situations. Indeed, some groups are distributed like " block-houses ", each commanding a view of one or more of the others. Archæological research has revealed evidence that the Broch people were agriculturists, stock-rearers, hunters, and fishermen. The relics indicate, too, that they practised the crafts of spinning and weaving. They made ornaments of gold, and gold is still to be found in the " Cat " area of the county of Sutherland,

as has been indicated. They also manufactured articles of bronze and iron and lead. For body paint they used a red ore of iron still found in Caithness. Portions of " red keel " (hæmatite) discovered in Brochs suggest that the Pictish ladies used " lip-sticks ". As Dr. Joseph Anderson has put it:

" The general character of the relics obtained by the systematic excavation of these northern Brochs is not that of a primitive group, but of a group which is the product of an advanced stage of culture, civilization and social organization."

The Picts were certainly accomplished stone-builders. It is evident that they came from an area in which great skill had been acquired in quarrying, shaping, and transporting stone and in erecting ponderous strongholds which were built according to plan. The evolution of the Broch cannot be traced in Scotland; the " galleried duns " of the Hebrides, which betray the influence of the craft of the Broch builders, were certainly not of earlier construction.

A Broch was, when completed, from 40 to 60 feet in height, with circular walls, from 9 to 19 feet in thickness, enclosing a court about 30 feet in diameter. Inside the walls of the Brochs are spiral stone staircases which always open to the left and often at some height from the ground. The windows look into the inner court. Some Brochs have entrances so low that adults had to crouch when passing through them; other Brochs had doorways about 7 feet high and about 3 feet wide. In the long passage there are often niches or " guard chambers " high enough to permit an armed sentinel to stand upright and attack intruders. It would have been difficult for enemies to force their way into a Broch, but, on the other hand, delay would have been caused in a sudden retreat of an outnumbered force seeking refuge in a Broch. Such a contingency was,

however, provided against, for most of the Brochs are found to have been protected by walls and other outworks which were reconstructed from time to time.

In a number of the courts of the Broch are wells or stone-built tanks fed by underground channels from outside sources. Others are situated near streams. Not a few Brochs had stone-built drains to carry away surface water.

The Scottish Brochs, on the whole, bear a remarkable resemblance to similar circular stone structures in Sardinia called *nuraghi*. A *nuraghe* is known to the modern natives as " Domu de Orcu ", and it is of interest to note in this connexion that Verrius says in *Festus* that " Orcus " was of old called " Uragus " or " Urgus ".

The diameter of a *nuraghe* is usually about thirty feet. It may have a low entrance or a high narrow one, and the passage has usually a niche or " guard chamber ". The spiral staircase within the wall enters on the left and invariably at some height from the ground. " Many of the *nuraghi*," writes Professor T. Eric Peet, " are surrounded by elaborate fortifications consisting of walls, towers and bastions, sometimes built at the same time as the dwelling itself, sometimes added later. . . . All the *nuraghi* stand in commanding situations overlooking large tracts of country, and the more important a position is from the strategical point of view the stronger will be the *nuraghe* which defends it. All are situated close to streams and springs of good water, and some, as for instance that of Abbameiga, are actually built over a natural spring."

The well in the Broch of Kettleburn in Caithness " is still ", Dr. Joseph Anderson has stated, " utilized as the existing water supply for the cottars who live in houses close by constructed of the stones removed from the site of the ancient structure ".

Finds of Roman pottery in *nuraghi* testify to their occupation during the same period as the Brochs.

The " family resemblance " between the Brochs and the Sardinian towers is very striking, and the conclusion that they are closely related is strengthened when we find that they yield similar archæological relics. There are more differences between individual *nuraghi* than between the Brochs as a whole and the *nuraghi* as a whole. The widely-separated structures appear to have served a similar purpose, and they reflect cultures and habits of life of like character.

It may be that among the Broch-building people there were representatives of the seafaring folk who erected the *nuraghi*. The fusion of the peoples of different origins and cultures like the Celts and the Mediterranean pirates and traders may have taken place in Iberia or western Gaul. The Pict-ones, the congeners of the Picts, may have been mainly one of those peoples vaguely referred to by ancient writers as " Celtiberians ". As has been indicated, the Iberians were a mixed people before their fusion with the Celts occurred.

In the Broch civilization of northern Scotland, we appear to detect undoubted Mediterranean influence. The builders of the *nuraghi* may have been descendants of the Homeric Shardina. That they had either direct cultural relations with the Ægean, or through the Greek colonists, there can be little doubt. Sir Arthur Evans has, in his *The Palace of Minos*, drawn attention to certain links, including the spiral staircase, between underground structures at Knossos in Crete and the *nuraghi* and Brochs.

CHAPTER V

Romans in Scotland

When in the first century of the Christian era the Romans invaded Scotland under the leadership of Agricola, the most powerful people with whom they came into contact was the Caledonians. Their tribal name, " Caledo ", is undoubtedly Celtic, the root being, according to Watson, either *kal*, " hard ", or *kal*, " cry " (in the sense of clamour, din), but Tacitus, the historian, who was the son-in-law of Agricola, says that their red hair and muscular limbs suggested a German origin. The inhabitants of southern Britain, on the other hand, resembled the Gauls, while the Silures of South Wales, who had swarthy complexions, many having also curly hair, appeared to the Romans to be the descendants of ancient Iberian colonists from Spain.

We gather from the evidence of Ptolemy, the Alexandrian Greek geographer of the second century, that the Caledonians occupied the central Highlands from an area north of the Forth to the shores of the Inverness and Moray Firths, while on the west they touched Loch Long. Their chief stronghold, as Celtic scholars have shown, was Dunkeld, which in Gaelic is *Dùn Chailleann*, " Fort of the Caledonians ", while their " Olympus " was the mountain we know as Schiehallion. In Gaelic the rendering of this ben's name is *Sìdh Chailleann*, which may be translated " Fairy-hill of the Caledonians ", but *sìdh* refers not only to fairies but

to the " other life " or " Otherworld " as a whole, and can also be translated " sacred " or " supernatural ".

To the east of the Caledonians were the Vacomagi. Watson, in his great work *Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, deals with this and other ancient tribal names. For the element *vaco* in Vacomagi he draws attention to Bello-vaci, the name of a Belgian tribe, and Vaco-caburius, the name of a Gaulish god. The meaning of Vaco-magi appears to be " great in Vacos ", or " great by reason of Vacos ".

The Buchan area and some distance to the south of it was occupied by the Taexali (also given as Texali and Taezali), a mysterious name which may be non-Celtic. To the south of the Taexali, skirting the coast to the Forth, were the Vennicōnes or Vernicōnes. The first form may mean " descendants of Vennos " and the second " swamp hounds " or " alder hounds ".

In the modern county of Ross and Cromarty were the Decantæ, " the aristocrats "—probably the Celtic military aristocracy of the eastern area of the county. They were in touch with the northern wing of the Caledonians. In eastern Sutherland were the Lugi, a name which may have been connected with the Gaulish word *lougos*, a raven. To the west of the Lugi were the Smertæ, evidently another Gaulish name meaning " smeared folk ". The Gauls had goddesses named Ro-smerta and Canti-smerta, and there was a god of the Pictones named Ad-smer-ius. The " smearing " may refer to the custom of smearing the body with the blood of a sacrificial victim or, more probably, the blood of enemies.

In Caithness were the Cornavii (from *corn*, a horn or peninsula). A people with the same name were occupants of a " horn " of land in modern Lancashire.

In north-west Sutherland were the Cærēni, " sheep

folk ", and farther south on the west were the Carnonācæ, " the trumpet folk " or " the folk of the cairns or hills ". Other west-coast peoples were the Creōnes and Cerōnes. Perhaps these are variants of the same name applying to the rough country they occupied. In Kintyre were the Epidii, a name meaning " horse folk ". Perhaps they were " tamers of horses " like the Homeric Achæans. Watson points out, in this connexion, that the Kintyre Gaelic surname MacEachern means " Son of the Horse-lord ". The early British tribal name had apparently been translated into Gaelic.

In the Lothians and modern " Border Counties " were the Otadini or Votadini and the Gadeni or Gadini. In Gaelic the country of these tribes (if there was more than one tribe, which is doubtful) became known as Fothudán. The Welsh form became Guododdin. It may be that the original tribal name of which Gadeni was a variant meant " the supports " and that they were a northern branch of the Brigantes, whose territory extended from the midlands of England northward to the Forth area.

In Galloway were the Selgovæ, " the hunters ", and also the Novantæ, who were connected with the river Nith (Novios). The rich mineral area embracing Ayr, Renfrew, Lanark, Dumbarton, and Stirling counties was the territory of the Damnonii, who appear to have been the same people as the Dumnonii of Devon and Cornwall and the Irish Fir Domnann, a name which may mean " Men of Domnu " (" goddess of the deep "). The Irish explanation is that the Fir Domnann were so called because they were engaged in " digging the earth ". As " diggers ", they may have been miners. " Dumna " was an ancient name of the Hebridean " Long Island " (Lewis to Barra). If its people were related to the Dumnonii, their occupation of the island

may have been connected with a sea-trade with Orkney and Shetland, which yield copper and lead. Watson thinks, however, the goddess Domnu of Lewis was a different deity from the Domnu of the Dumnonii.

It may be that some of the Celtic tribes of Scotland came from Gaul through England, while others migrated from the northern Celtic area on the Continent direct across the North Sea. The Menapii of modern Holland, for instance, reached Ireland, but were not represented by that tribal name in England (see, however, page 182).

We cannot ignore the statement of Tacitus that the Caledonians resembled the Germans. At an early period the Celtic carriers of the La Tène culture subdued a considerable area of Germany and southern Scandinavia. By the third century B.C. the Celtic ascendancy over the Germanic tribes was being seriously threatened, and it ultimately came to an end. It had, however, lasted long enough to bring about the Celticization of certain German groups and to influence strongly German civilization as a whole. Professor Eoin MacNeill, in his *Phases of Irish History*, draws attention in this connexion to the philological evidence. A number of words of Celtic origin are found in the Germanic or Teutonic group of languages, including the Scandinavian languages and English.

" Thus the German word *reich*, meaning ' realm ' or ' royal dominion ', is traced to the Celtic *rigion*, represented in early Irish by *rige*, meaning ' kingship '. From the Celtic word *ambactus*, used by Cæsar in the sense of ' client ' or ' dependent ', indicating one of the retainers of a Gaelic nobleman, but originally signifying ' one who is sent about ', a minister or envoy—from *ambactus* is derived the German word *amt*, meaning ' office, charge, employment '. From *ambactus* are also derived the words *embassy* and *ambassador*, with their kindred terms in the Romance languages.

From the Celtic words *dunon*, a fortified place, represented in Irish by *dun*, is derived the word *town* in English and the cognate words in the other Germanic languages."

When the German pressure caused the Celts and their subjects, the Celticized Germans of acquired Celtic speech and culture, to retreat into Gaul and northward into Jutland, about the middle of the third century B.C., it may be that some Celto-German tribes crossed the North Sea and settled in Scotland. The pressure caused by such intrusions might have caused other tribes, Celtic as well as non-Celtic, to move northward and westward. It is possible that the displaced tribes and those governed by Celtic military aristocrats like the Decantæ of Ross and Cromarty, may have been the enemies against whom the Pictish Broch-builders found it necessary to defend themselves. The Celts were seafarers on the coasts, and they were accustomed to use river boats. They could not have held the Danube valley with its long navigable river unless they had made use of such vessels. The Menapii of Holland had ships like those of the Veneti of Brittany in the first century of the Christian era, as we gather from the evidence of Julius Cæsar. Apparently, too, the Caledonians had ships. We learn as much from Tacitus, who in his *Life of Agricola* makes Galgacus say in his speech to his troops: " There are no lands beyond us and not even the sea is safe owing to the threat of the Roman fleet (*imminenti classe Romana*)."

When in the first century A.D. Agricola had consolidated Roman power in the area we now know as England, he devoted attention to the troublesome frontier problem. In the third year of his administration he discovered new nations when raiding and laying waste territory in the Lowlands and penetrating the Highlands as far north as the Tay. He established in his fourth year a chain of forts, which

were garrisoned and stocked with provisions for a year, between the Forth (Bodotria) and the Clyde (Clōta).

In his fifth year Agricola penetrated the country north of the Forth. According to Tacitus, he embarked in the first Roman vessel that had ever sailed north to the unknown north-eastern area. He also operated on the south-western coast and established a garrison on the coast opposite Ireland, whose harbours and approaches were well known to sea-faring merchants. Tacitus tells that a deposed Irish ruler, forced to flee from his native land, became the guest of Agricola, who thought the stranger might be of service to him on some future occasion. Apparently Agricola lent a ready ear to the suggestions of this early exile of Erin, for Tacitus had frequently heard his father-in-law say that Ireland "could be brought into, and kept in submission, by one legion and a few allied troops"—the troops, apparently, of the deposed Irish ruler.

Agricola's sixth summer campaign was, like his first Lowland campaign in his fourth year, of the nature of a raiding expedition. It was directed against the Caledonians and other peoples north of the Forth. The fleet co-operated with the land forces, and, indeed, were usually in sight of them. Tacitus informs us it frequently happened that the marines and soldiers shared the same camp. The men recounted their experiences to one another, indulging at times in exaggerations regarding their adventures, the soldiers about the forests they had penetrated, the mountains they had climbed, and the enemy forces they had put to rout, while the sailors had much to say about tempests, strange monsters of the deep, and so on.

Tacitus's reference to the forts and camps constructed by Agricola's men is suggestive. It may be that these are represented by the Roman earthworks extending as far north

as Aberdeenshire, which have not, however, yielded archæological relics that would serve to date them.

Agricola's advance appears to have at first met with little serious opposition. We gather from his speech to his troops in the following year that they had been sorely tried during their marches by bogs, mountains, and rivers; he had heard the bravest exclaim: "When is the enemy to show himself? When shall the battle come?" Agricola found it necessary to "hunt them (the Caledonians) from their lairs".

The Highlanders may have been elusive, but they were evidently constantly on the watch and ready to strike when a favourable opportunity offered. Towards the close of the campaign they became so active that the morale of the Roman army was seriously affected, and several officers strongly advised Agricola to retreat south of the Forth rather than suffer the disgrace of being expelled. Tacitus is sparing in his details, but he indicates that the Caledonians suddenly took the offensive, assailing the forts and spreading a general terror.

The most serious happening was a night attack upon the camp of the ninth legion. Agricola had evidently underestimated the military skill and resources of the Caledonians, for he moved his force forward in three separate columns which were not always in close touch. This, in an unknown and hostile country, was a perilous proceeding, because he ran the risk of being defeated in detail.

According to Tacitus, the ninth legion was the weakest of the three columns. This fact became known to the Caledonians, whose scouts must have ever been on the watch, and their general planned a night attack which was conducted in a manner reflecting great credit on their staff work. Indeed, it may be compared to the famous night ascent by the Highlanders of the Heights of Abraham

which helped so greatly to win Canada for the British Empire.

It was well for the Romans that Agricola's scouts were also active, for they warned him of a sudden concentration of the enemy, and he set out on their tracks with the swiftest of his cavalry and infantry. The weak column must therefore have been at some distance from the main force.

The Caledonians were the first to arrive. In the darkness they suddenly attacked the camp of the ninth legion, slaying the advanced guard, rushing the entrenchments, and forcing an entrance. The greater number of the Roman soldiers were rudely awakened from sleep to find the Caledonians fighting within the camp.

Agricola arrived with his relieving force at daybreak and, apparently, just in the nick of time. He fell upon the attackers in the rear. At sight of the Roman eagles the confidence of the defenders was suddenly revived, and they delivered a counter-offensive. Sanguinary fighting took place at the gateway, but the Roman soldiers had to put forth their utmost strength to dislodge the enemy. Tacitus says that the two Roman forces emulously exerted themselves. Then he indicates that one was compelled to yield ground while the other seemed as if they had not really been in need of assistance, from which we gather that when the Caledonians found themselves threatened by the relieving force they drove it back while still holding up the counter-attack of the garrison. Thereafter the Highlanders effected an orderly retiral. Tacitus says that if the bogs and woods had not sheltered the retreating enemy, the war would have been concluded by what he calls this Roman " victory ". But " victory " is a curious term to apply to such a narrow escape from disaster. The historian makes Agricola, in his speech to the troops at a later period, refer

to this fine Caledonian night attack as a " treacherous one ". The Roman troops are represented by Tacitus as being so greatly elated by their " success " at the camp of the ninth legion that they expressed the desire to explore the recesses of Caledonia and reach the utmost limits of Britain. But this boast may be received *cum grano salis*.

It is evident that the Caledonians took a view of the situation different from that assumed by Tacitus. Their operations stirred them, and the other tribes, with hopes of ultimate success, and during the winter preparations were made to conduct a defensive war on a much greater scale. Tacitus indicates that meetings were held between the representatives of the various tribes. A treaty was arranged, and it was ratified by solemn rites and sacrifices. Evidently the bond which united the allies was a religious one. In the formation of the league against a common enemy, the Druids must have taken a prominent part, for, as we gather from the Continental evidence, they alone could offer up sacrifices to the gods, while it was their habit on occasion to make peace between rival tribes.

The general elected to command the allied army was a man of high birth, distinguished for his valour, who was named Galgacus (*Calgācus*, i.e. " Swordsman "). It was probably he who had planned and conducted the masterly night attack upon the ninth legion. He belonged to the military class and was therefore apparently of pure Celtic descent. This class constituted the nucleus of the standing army. Each year its members conducted the training of the men who had to serve for a period in camp, as do the modern Territorials, and engage in military manœuvres. During the winter, according to Tacitus, the young men were armed. We may infer that they underwent a course of training in every village and fort in " the land of the

glens and the bens ". Wives and children were sent to places of safety when the army was being mobilized.

This is the first occasion known to us in which the inhabitants of a great part of Scotland united to repel an invader. We can take it for granted that the allies included all the powerful tribes north of the Forth. It may be that the Lowland area was likewise drawn upon, for there the Roman garrisons were, as we gather from Tacitus, accustomed to the unremitting sallies of the natives, so that the winter season was one of " tedious blockade ".

Galgacus thus appears at the dawn of history as a great national leader, ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of liberty and independence. The inspiring spirit which he symbolizes is found to run like a gold thread through the subsequent history of Scotland. In sharp contrast to him is the first prominent Irishman in history, who during his residence in Agricola's head-quarters seemed prepared to sell his country to the highest bidder.

Agricola opened his seventh campaign apparently in the belief that he could overrun Scotland north of the Forth as expeditiously as he had overrun the Lowland area after a preliminary raiding campaign. He dispatched his fleet, probably from Cramond on the Forth, to harass the coasts by making descents at various places. According to Tacitus, his object was to spread a general alarm. It is more probable that he wished to entice the enemy to scatter their forces. News of a Caledonian concentration had already reached him. We are told that he advanced from his winter quarters at the head of a trusted force of the most valiant Britons as far as Mons Graupius, which, incorrectly copied as " Grampius ", has given its name to the Grampian hills.

We do not know for certain what height is to be identified as Mons Graupius. In his speech to his troops Agricola

refers to the position he caused them to occupy in front of the Caledonians and their allies as " an open field ". It may be, therefore, that Mons Graupius was an outlying spur of the mountain range we know as the Grampians. If such was the case, the Roman army may have concentrated at Ardoch, where, in addition to the permanent fort, there are traces of three temporary camps, one covering 125 acres and another less that half that area. One of the temporary camps may have been utilized by Agricola. Another Roman camp was situated at Inchtuthil, a few miles distant from Dunkeld, and it appears to have been occupied, abandoned, and reoccupied during the early Scoto-Roman period. It is uncertain, however, whether it was constructed by Agricola or by a later Roman general. If Agricola really penetrated the central Highlands as far as Inchtuthil, in addition to conducting operations along the coast, rendering the seas unsafe for the Caledonian ships, it may be that he had been forced to evacuate the camp soon after its construction.

The fact that Mons Graupius was occupied by Galgacus suggests that it was a point of strategic importance—one which threatened the Roman advance through the territory they had raided in the previous year. The Caledonian leader was on the defensive, and being, as subsequent events proved, an excellent general, his was really an offensive-defensive. The initiative certainly lay with him; Agricola had to accept battle on ground chosen by his opponent.

It appears that an advance from Mons Graupius would threaten seriously the communications of the Romans and their hold of the territory they had occupied. The position, as we find, was also one from which Galgacus could retreat speedily and in comparative safety and unobserved by the Romans.

It is difficult to accept Tacitus's estimate of 30,000 as

the strength of the army under the command of Galgacus. At the battle of Bannockburn Bruce had drawn upon the greater part of Scotland and yet could not raise more than between 5000 and 7000 fighting men, as has been shown by calculations based upon recorded territorial levies, while the English army numbered from 15,000 to 20,000 men. Bruce owed his success in no small measure to the bad generalship on the English side which caused his opponents to be jammed between the Forth and the Bannock, as Dr. W. Mackay Mackenzie shows in his *The Battle of Bannockburn*.

Galgacus, as has been indicated, occupied a position which so threatened his enemy that his army gained an advantage in freedom of movement and choice of point of attack to compensate it for lack of numbers. If Galgacus had under his command an army of 3000, it would have been a large one for the Scotland of his time.

The Roman army, according to Tacitus, consisted of three legions, 3000 cavalry, and 8000 auxiliaries. We are not told, however, whether the legions were at full strength. If we assume that they each consisted of 3000 men, Agricola had under his command an army of at least 20,000, but it may have been much stronger.

Agricola formed up his army in two lines, the auxiliaries in the centre and front, and cavalry guarding the flanks. The legions in the second line constituted the reserves along with a force of cavalry. Behind the legions were entrenchments, " a resource ", says Tacitus, " if they retreated ".

The main force of the Caledonians was on the slopes of the hill; their van was formed up on the plain, their cavalry and chariots being apparently on the wings. Galgacus had posted his men in so advantageous a position that Agricola, " apprehending a charge in front and on the

flanks, expanded his ranks ". Some of his officers thought his lines were then too far extended and advised him to bring up the legions, but this he declined to do.

As Galgacus seems to have expected much of his force of chariots—the armoured cars of his time—something should here be said regarding the part they played in Celtic wars.

According to Julius Cæsar (*De Bell. Gall.*, IV, 33), the well-trained British charioteers opened an attack by galloping down the field of battle. In each car was a driver and a warrior. The latter flung javelins at the enemy as the car rattled along with the horses at the gallop. As a rule, the chariots caused alarm and some confusion in the ranks of their opponents and especially the cavalry, which even in modern times can be easily thrown into disorder and are slow to rally.

Julius Cæsar tells that when the chariots had wormed their way through the cavalry, the warriors leapt down from them and fought on foot. Meantime the drivers drew clear of the press and waited to carry off the warriors should they be overpowered by numbers. A chariot force thus combined, as Cæsar says, the steadiness of infantry with the mobility of cavalry. More than once the discipline of Cæsar's troops had been sorely tried by the dashing and elusive charioteers.

At an early stage in the battle of Mons Graupius, Agricola took measures to put the chariots out of action by advancing part of his army to occupy the level ground suitable for their operations.

Tacitus tells that at first the contest was maintained from a distance. The Romans flung missiles which the Caledonians dexterously parried with their long swords and narrow shields, while the Caledonians also flung missiles of their own. Now, it is quite evident that the Roman

missiles could not possibly have reached the main force of the Caledonians. It must be, therefore, that these were directed against the attacking charioteers.

Farther on in his narrative Tacitus refers to a consternation, " not yet abated ", which had been caused in the Roman ranks by the Caledonian charioteers. This evidently refers to the chariot attack.

Agricola countered this attack by ordering three cohorts of the Batavi and two of Tungri to advance across the open ground and engage in a hand-to-hand encounter with the van of the Caledonian army. These auxiliaries were armed with the short, pointed Roman swords which were used for thrusting and were almost as effective in a press as is the modern bayonet. The Caledonian infantry fought with long, slashing swords—Tacitus calls them " unwieldy swords ", which were more suitable for open fighting, but in a close charge could not be freely used.

In addition to their bayonet-like swords, the Roman auxiliaries had large and spiked shields which cut the faces of the enemy. These proved most effective in the shock of battle, and the Caledonian infantry " on the level ground " were driven back. The auxiliaries then began to advance up the hill, supported by other cohorts, until they became exhausted. " Many," Tacitus tells, " were left fainting and unharmed." The infantry attack thus spent itself on the lower slopes of Mons Graupius.

Meantime the Roman cavalry had been put to flight by the Caledonian charioteers, who, however, failed in their attack upon the infantry, the warriors being unable, as a result of the Roman advance, to regain their cars. The drivers waited for them in vain, and soon their movements were hampered by the unevenness of the ground, the level area having been occupied, as we have seen, by the Roman

auxiliaries. Many of the drivers must have been slain, for Tacitus pictures for us numbers of unguided and scared horses galloping hither and thither in wild confusion.

Then Galgacus saw his opportunity. He was evidently on the hill where he witnessed every move, for he ordered his reserves to advance and enclose the rear of the Roman army. Success would probably have attended this movement had not Agricola taken steps to break the rush of the Highlanders. He had held in reserve four squadrons of cavalry, and these he ordered to attack the enveloping force. They did so with fine dash, putting the Caledonians to rout.

Confused fighting followed. Here the Romans scattered isolated forces of the enemy; there companies of the Caledonians rallied and overpowered the attackers. It was chiefly in the woods and thickets adjoining the battlefield that the Caledonians renewed their resistance. Agricola ordered forces of cavalry to dismount and fight on foot, but kept a proportion to operate in open spaces. Tacitus says that the struggle continued until fatigue and darkness put an end to it. He claims that fully 10,000 of the enemy had fallen while the Roman losses were no more than 360. His figures cannot, however, be accepted. Even in the recent Great War, with all its artillery, bombs, machine-guns, &c., the proportion of casualties was never so large on one side and so small on the other. A force of 20,000 men could scarcely in hand-to-hand fighting have slain half their own numbers in a few hours.

During the night the Caledonians carried off their wounded and, setting fire to houses (probably temporary booths), retreated with their women and children.

Tacitus informs that by morning the Caledonians had vanished, after laying waste the surrounding country.

Scouts were sent out, but they saw no human beings, nor could they discover any definite traces of the Caledonian retreat.

This is one of the most interesting facts in connexion with the battle of Mons Graupius, for it not only reveals clever generalship on the part of Galgacus, but throws some light on the problem of the site upon which the conflict took place.

An army marching in the darkness moves at the rate of about a mile per hour or, at the most, two miles per hour. The summer night is short in the Scottish Highlands, and the Caledonians, burdened with their wounded as well as their stores, could not have gone far when the Roman scouts began to search for them. It should have been possible to catch sight of stragglers, especially from the evacuated summit of Mons Graupius, even at a distance of several miles, if the country behind that eminence was an open one. It is evident, therefore, that the retreat was facilitated and concealed by the natural features of the country. Those who regard Crieff hill as the Mons Graupius of Tacitus point out in this connexion that the Caledonians could have vanished quickly by retreating up the " Sma' Glen ", which leads towards Dunkeld, the chief stronghold of the Caledonians. The problem involved is one for the investigation and decision of military experts rather than of archæologists. In the central Highlands it should not be difficult to make a very short leet of possible sites for the battle. Mons Graupius was evidently so situated that it threatened a Roman advance and facilitated a Caledonian retreat.

This famous early Scottish battle thwarted Agricola's plan to bring Caledonia under the sway of Rome. He did not consider it expedient to continue the campaign against an enemy so elusive and so expert in guerrilla warfare. Withal,

as he emphasized in his speech to his troops, " we have not the same acquaintance with the localities, or similar supplies of provisions ".

" The summer was now closing," says Tacitus, " and the war could not be extended." Apparently the campaign was a longer one than his brief narrative of the events leading up to the battle might lead us to suppose. Agricola retreated to the country of the Boresti, from whom he received hostages. Then he commanded his fleet to cruise round Britain. The autumn must have been a mild one. Tacitus, who tells that the Orkneys were subdued, says that Thule (Shetland) was sighted from a distance, but their orders were to go no farther, winter being at hand.

Boresti is a name of uncertain meaning, and if the fleet was dispatched from the Forth, it may be that the Romans occupied the country in the vicinity of Cramond. An altar found near Cramond House bears an inscription which indicates that it had been erected by the second cohort of Tungri.

Agricola sent his infantry and cavalry to their winter stations, but Tacitus does not name any of these.

The fleet returned " with fair weather and a fair reputation ", says Tacitus. This reputation it must have won in conflict with the enemy. It appears that the voyage northward was connected with Agricola's investigation of the naval forces of the Celtic allies, and it is significant to learn in this connexion that the fleet is said to have subdued the Orkneys, where the Pictish seafarers were in force, and to have sighted Thule (Shetland). Then it passed through the Pentland Firth and sailed southward along the west coast, discovering several long arms of the sea which penetrate inland between the mountains.

Agricola was recalled to Rome soon after the battle of Mons Graupius.

The archæological evidence obtained at the Roman fort of Newstead on the Tweed and elsewhere indicates that the first Roman period in Scotland, now known as the Agricolan, lasted for from thirty to forty years. It may be that after Agricola left Britain other generals found it necessary to invade the country of the Caledonians. The occupation of the fort of Inchtuthil, seven miles south-east of Dunkeld, was evidently intended to keep the Highlanders in check.

Although Tacitus presents his father-in-law Agricola as a wronged man—a soldier with a grievance—the Emperor Domitian may have been characterized by him in rather dark colour. Agricola's seven years' campaigning had not solved the problem of frontier pacification in Britain nor, as is subsequently found, had the Brigantes of north England been completely subdued. Withal, Domitian found it necessary to withdraw a legion from Britain to strengthen his Danubian frontier, which was giving anxiety at the time, while there was also unrest of serious character on the Rhine. We cannot accept without qualification the charges levelled by Tacitus against the Roman Emperor and his War Office.

CHAPTER VI

Frontier Wars

From the modern Scottish viewpoint the outstanding interest attaching to the Agricolan period is the revelation it affords us of the beginnings of a great nation inspired by the ideals of liberty and independence. The battle of Mons Graupius was to the Romans little more than a " Pyrrhic victory ". It brought their offensive to a standstill and failed to shatter the morale of the Caledonians and their allies.

Galgacus is our first great national hero and leader—an inspiring figure after the order of Wallace and Bruce. He remains for us the symbol of Caledonian valour. The Caledonian tribe was by its devotion to freedom and independence " the little leaven " that ultimately " leavened the whole lump " of Scotland as a nation. It created a tradition destined to effect the intellectual conquest of even the descendants of later immigrants who came to know Scotland as their native land.

It is unnecessary in dealing with the Roman period as a whole to enter minutely into the available archæological evidence provided by such excellent authorities as Sir George Macdonald and Mr. James Curle. The salient facts that emerge from the painstaking researches of these and other scholars are that the Celtic resistance to the Roman conquest of Scotland was stubbornly maintained and the

occupation by the Romans of certain strongholds and areas was mainly a military one. It is found too, by reference to the evidence of Roman historians, that the Celtic tribes of Scotland played their part in the politics of Europe. Their menace on the frontier necessitated the continued maintenance of strong garrisons and the occasional dispatch of expeditionary forces, which tended to weaken the Continental frontiers of the Roman Empire.

The Scottish Agricolan period came to an end about A.D. 100, when Trajan was Emperor of Rome. We know little of the ebb and flow of Celtic resistance and Roman aggression, because scant mention is made of Britain in the Roman annals from the time of Domitian to that of Trajan, or indeed until Hadrian came to the throne in A.D. 117. The archæological evidence suggests that attacks were made on Roman strongholds and that there were risings or raids in the areas we now know as Cumberland and Northumberland. It may be that the Brigantes were for a period the allies of the Caledonians. There must have been a directing mind in these widespread operations. If Galgacus was not still alive, he had a worthy successor. Trajan appears to have found it necessary to strengthen the Roman defences in northern England and southern Scotland.

When Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) became Emperor of Rome, he not only found it necessary to make peace with the Parthians by restoring to them captured territory and to consolidate the German frontier, but to deal with the Celtic menace on the frontier of Roman Britain. Serious military reverses had occurred. The ninth legion, which had narrowly escaped destruction during Agricola's sixth campaign, had been annihilated " somewhere in Scotland ", and it is never again mentioned.

We find references in Roman writings of somewhat later

date to a new Scottish tribe or people, the Mæatæ, who had joined the Caledonian alliance. They made use of chariots which were drawn by small but speedy horses, and their infantry were swift of foot and armed with spears. In a close engagement the Roman soldiers must have found spearmen more difficult to overcome than those Highlanders, armed with long slashing swords, who had been forced to yield ground at the battle of Mons Graupius.

The reference to their swiftness of foot indicates that, like the Caledonians, they were accustomed to rush forward in masses with purpose to carry all before them. Interesting evidence in this connexion is afforded by the elaborate systems of outlying earthworks which are features of permanent Roman stations in Scotland, and by the discovery of a system of pits, not unlike those dug by Bruce's soldiers at Bannockburn, which protected the north gate of Rough Castle Roman fort near Falkirk.

The Emperor Hadrian found it necessary to pay a visit to Britain, and he took with him the sixth legion to replace the lost ninth. In dealing with the frontier problem he followed the lead of Trajan's officers by abandoning the policy of periodically raiding the Highland area, or of even attempting to hold some of the advanced frontier posts in the Lowlands.

During A.D. 122–5 Hadrian caused to be constructed between the Tyne and the Solway Firth the great frontier stone wall " dividing the Romans from the barbarians ", as a Roman writer puts it. Perhaps it replaced an earlier turf wall at certain points. Its length was about 73¼ miles, its height about 20 feet, and it was over 8 feet in thickness. Numerous " castles ", each about a mile apart, and therefore called " mile castles ", were constructed along the wall, and, in addition, there were at more frequent intervals

" turrets " or " watch towers ". The permanent fortified camps or military stations were some sixteen in number. " Hadrian's wall ", as we know it, was protected by elaborate earthworks, while a " military way " enabled the Roman troops to concentrate rapidly at any given point. Further protection was afforded by outlying forts which were strongly defended and stored with amply supplies for the garrisons.

If the wall divided the Romans from the Celts of Scotland, it also divided these Celts from their kinsmen the Brigantes of northern England, whose complete Romanization was subsequently accomplished. Hadrian may be said to have indicated roughly to the liberty-loving Celts of Scotland the ultimate limits of their nation.

About a generation after the construction of the wall the Romans were forced to conduct military operations beyond it. A sweeping movement northward appears to have caused the Mæatæ to migrate from the Lowlands. The area they then occupied is indicated, as Watson has shown, by such surviving place-names as Dun-myat, three and a half miles to the north-east of Stirling, and Myot-hill, near Denny. Rhys connected them with May Water and the Isle of May in the Forth, but his view does not find general acceptance.

About A.D. 142 the old Agricolan forts were reconstructed by the soldiers of Antoninus Pius, the adopted son and successor of Hadrian. They were also connected and protected by the " Antonine wall ", the " Grahame's Dyke " of tradition, which was about thirty-six miles in length. This Scottish wall had a stone foundation fourteen feet broad and, here and there, stone culverts, and on the foundation sods were laid in the western area and masses of earth and clay in the eastern. It appears to have been about

ten feet in height. The northern side was protected by a ditch about twelve feet deep and about twenty feet wide. At Croy Hill, however, the breadth of the ditch extended to over a hundred and fifteen feet. The soil was thrown up on the north side when the ditch was being constructed and formed a mound to break a " Highland charge ". There was a " military way " on the south side of the wall.

It might well seem that such a defence was impregnable against a frontal attack so long as the forts were strongly garrisoned. But the Highlanders were ever as resourceful as they were active. In the night-time they could creep forward as stealthily as did their descendants who scaled the Heights of Abraham, when their spies discovered a weakly-held point at which an attack could be made. Although the wall was held for about forty years, it appears to have been rushed and retaken more than once before the Roman garrison was finally compelled to abandon it. The fact that earthworks were constructed along the southern shore of the Firth of Forth as far as Inveresk suggests that the Antonine wall may have occasionally been " turned " by forces of Celts crossing over in boats from the shores of Fife.

The Pictish seafarers must have been active during this period. They are not mentioned by any Roman writer before A.D. 297, but by that time they had become politically influential in central Scotland. They may well have been active on the coasts as raiders a century earlier.

The second Roman period in Scotland is that of Severus. Tidings of fierce Celtic forays and successes had been received at Rome by the aged Emperor, and these were of sufficiently alarming character to stir him to activity. The Caledonian peril had apparently become so great that the existing garrison was insufficient to withstand it.

In the summer of A.D. 207 Severus reached Britain with strong reinforcements and established his court at York. His army was concentrated on the frontier, and Hadrian's wall, which had been breached by clever sappers and miners, had to be repaired and strengthened. It must therefore have been carried by the Celts, perhaps after being " turned " from the sea, and the northern part of England had, no doubt, been plundered.

Severus invaded Scotland with a great army—too great an army apparently. Sir George Macdonald is convinced that the Emperor selected Cramond as his head-quarters, having transported thither by sea a portion of his force. He must therefore have had at his disposal a large fleet of warships and troopships.

The army appears to have advanced northward along the east coast towards Aberdeenshire. Roads were constructed and rivers bridged, as if the Emperor contemplated the permanent occupation of Scotland north of the Forth. He is said to have reached the extremity of the island, where " he examined the parallax and the length of the days and nights ". A recent view is that he thought the Moray Firth was the ultimate northern sea and that the blue mountains on the horizon were those of Orkney and Thule (Shetland), but it is uncertain how far north he really went.

No battle was fought. The policy of the Caledonians and their allies was apparently to lay waste the country and prevent the enemy, so far as it lay in their power, from drawing upon it for supplies. Foraging parties and convoys could be attacked when opportunity offered.

The Caledonian leader of the time must have acted as did Fabius Maximus when Hannibal was sweeping victoriously through Italy. That wily Roman, it may be recalled, kept to the hills waiting and watching for an opportunity

to strike. Hannibal compared him to a cloud which, he said, would one day burst upon his army with the fury of a storm, and his prediction was fulfilled in due time.

That the Caledonians sometimes "burst" upon the Roman army, as did the Roman army on the Carthaginian, is suggested by the heavy casualties sustained by Severus during his Scottish campaign. According to Roman evidence, he lost no fewer than 50,000 men. Many of his soldiers may have died from the effects of cold and disease, but there can be little doubt that a considerable proportion perished at the hands of the Celtic defenders who were waging, in their own fashion, a war of attrition and exhaustion.

Severus got into direct touch with the Caledonian authorities, who, in the end, appear to have adopted a policy of passive resistance. There is mention of a treaty by which they agreed to cede part of their country to Rome. But such a treaty could not have been considered binding unless steps were taken to enforce it.

The Emperor, thinking he had pacified Scotland, returned to York, but before long the Mæatæ were again on the warpath and were being aided by the Caledonians. Probably some Roman garrisons were put to the sword.

Severus was in declining health, the Scottish campaign having tried him severely, but he would fain have set out again to recover lost ground. He, however, sickened and died at York in A.D. 211, and he was interred there.

His sons Caracalla and Geta had more to think of than waging a war of revenge in Scotland. Tidings from Rome told of serious trouble on the eastern frontier, and a new treaty of peace was arranged with the Mæatæ and the Caledonians which, as it proved, ensured comparative peace for the next half a century. It appears to have been

negotiated by Caracalla, who thus proved to be a better statesman that his aged father. The Roman claim to Scottish territory was abandoned, and the frontier of Britain restricted to Hadrian's wall and to certain outlying forts that protected it. It would appear, too, that there was in the unrecorded treaty a clause relating to trading.

For a couple of generations Roman Britain was freed from the Caledonian menace and it prospered greatly. There are no records, or any archæological evidence of disturbances in the region of Hadrian's wall. Beyond the Forth, however, political changes were in progress which were to affect in time the relations between Celtic Scotland and Romanized England. The Picts were gradually becoming the predominant tribe. They had consolidated their power in the northern and western Broch areas and gradually moved southward towards Inverness as military aristocrats. As much is indicated by the distribution of the Brochs. These typical strongholds are fairly numerous in Skye, but only about ten were erected in Ross and six in the county of Inverness. Apparently the chief opponents of the Picts were the seafaring Scots of Ireland. The Brochs are therefore found to be more numerous in the Hebrides and western Inverness-shire than on the east coast. As has been indicated, Brochs were ultimately erected as far south as Wigtownshire on the west, while one, strongly protected by earthworks, was built in Berwickshire.

When the Picts formed the military aristocracy that held sway over the Caledonian and other tribes in central and eastern Scotland, there was less need for Brochs. These were not required except on the frontiers of a pacified country.

CHAPTER VII

Rise of the Picts and Scots

The doom of Roman Britain was sealed when during its " Golden Age " the Picts and Scots became allies and began to wage war by land and sea to cripple its powers of aggression and resistance. Great campaigns were planned by directing minds not only to secure treasure or tribute but to annex territory.

As we have seen, the Picts and the coastal tribes of northern and eastern Ireland had long been enemies. Reference has been made to the expedition of an Irish king against " the numerous isles of the Orcs " as far back as the third century B.C. In the middle of the third century A.D., about forty years after the death of Severus, Lugaid mac Con, King of Ireland, fitted out a fleet to wage war on the western and northern coasts of Alba (Scotland), and he fought, as Watson tells us, " four great battles " with " the tribes of Orcs ". No doubt, the Picts had been ravaging the Irish coast, and, perhaps, also attacking the Dalriadic Scots who had settled in Argyll. The earliest Dalriadic colony in western Scotland can be dated as far back as A.D. 180—that is, till the time of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, the last of the Antonines.

That the Picts were a great sea-power is suggested by the fact that the ocean from the Pentland Firth to the coast of Antrim was known to the ancient Irish as *Muir n-Orc*

(" Sea of the Orcs = Picts "), while from north-east Ireland to the English Channel the ocean was called the " Sea of the Britons ". Watson points out in this connexion that the Irish version of Nennius preserves the following tradition:

> " The Britons originally filled the whole island with their peoples from the English Channel to the Sea of the Orcs."

It is evident, therefore, that those modern Irish writers who have had visions of vessels carrying Irish gold to Scandinavia and returning with Baltic amber have completely overlooked the seafaring Picts. Of course, in the course of a century, very few consignments of gold and amber, which, it must be borne in mind, were never as plentiful as are coals and potatoes in modern times, could have been or required to be transported overseas.

The first Roman reference to the Picts dates from A.D. 297, forty years after Lugaid mac Con, King of Ireland, found it necessary to wage war against them. The Roman orator Eumenius then refers to the Picti and Hiberni as enemies with whom the Romanized Britons had become familiar. It would appear, therefore, that the Scots of Antrim and the Picts had become allies, after patching up their former differences.

Early in the fourth century, during the joint reign of the Roman Emperors Diocletian and Maximianus, the province of Britain was being harried by its northern enemies. The aged Emperors resigned and were succeeded by Constantius I and Galerius.

Constantius was in Gaul when he received alarming tidings which caused him to cross hastily to Britain. Hadrian's wall had been broken through, or turned from the sea, and the Picts and Scots and their allies were ravaging

the country to the south of it. Constantius drove back the invaders, and he died at York, perhaps of wounds, on 25th July, 306. He was succeeded by his eldest son Constantinus, who first visited Gaul to make his position there secure. Then he returned to Britain, and we are told that he subdued "the Britons who reside along the Western Ocean". He must therefore have conducted a naval expedition against the Celtic seafaring enemies of Roman Britain. Probably there were also operations by land. In A.D. 310 a Roman orator made reference to "the forests and bogs of the Caledonians, the Picts and others". Those who have translated "Caledonians and other Picts" have used the passage quoted to support the theory that there was no difference between these peoples.

Our knowledge regarding the Scottish Lowlands during this and the subsequent period of the Roman Age is somewhat scanty. The two tribes who retained their identity until after the Romans had departed were the Votadini and the Damnonii. They appear not only to have had commercial relations with the Romano-British peoples, but even something in the nature of a political alliance. During the fourth century we find mention made of the *Arcani*, the "secret" or "trusty" ones who acted as secret servicemen for the Romans. According to Ammianus (the fourth-century Greek of Antioch who wrote a history of the Roman Emperors, continuing the work of Suetonius), the *Arcani* kept watch on the Picts and carried tidings of their hostile movements to the Roman military authorities. They appear to have been an organized force in the pay of Rome. The *Arcani* officers must have acquired the Latin language. Some, perhaps, assumed Roman names. That there were Romanized communities in the Lowlands is suggested by the fact that St. Patrick's father and grandfather were Romanized

Britons who resided in the valley of the Clyde. Cunedag (Cunedda), prince of the Votadini from the Lothians, who figures in Welsh legend as a leader opposed to the Irish Gaels, had similarly a father and grandfather with Latin names.

During the second half of the fourth century the political power of the Picts was in the ascendancy in Scotland, while that of the Caledonians had so declined that they are scarcely ever mentioned. It is to be inferred that the Pictish aristocrats had supplanted the Caledonian. Their allies included the Scots from Ireland and the mysterious Atacotti, usually referred to as a " tribe ", but more probably mercenaries who were so named because of the weapons they carried. In mediæval times, for instance, we similarly meet with mercenaries named " kerns and galloglasses ", and they are mentioned by Shakespeare in his *Macbeth* as coming from the Western Isles. A " kern " was a light-armed soldier, and a " galloglass " was heavily armed. MacNeill derives " galloglasses " from the Irish *Gall-óglάich*, meaning " foreign soldiers ", but this does not explain " glass " (*glas*).

In the latter half of the fourth century a midwinter attack on the wall of Hadrian appears to have found the Romans unprepared. The *Arcani* had warned them that the Picts and their allies were on the move, but perhaps the Roman officers thought it unlikely that a serious war could be waged before the spring-time or early summer.

The wall was, however, attacked and breached in several places and the country behind it ravaged, but the Roman forts could not be reduced. No doubt, the fleets of the Picts and Scots co-operated with the land forces.

At this time the Cæsars were the two surviving sons of Constantine. Constans, who ruled over Italy and the West, happened to be in Gaul, and he hastened to Britain with

military reinforcements and a fleet of war vessels. The Picts and Scots were speedily expelled from the northern area of England and Hadrian's wall was repaired. Reference to naval operations is made by a eulogist of the Emperor, who says that he ventured upon a sea not previously crossed by Roman sailors. There is no mention of a naval battle, and it may be, as some think, that the Roman fleet made a demonstration on the Irish coast, which would have been quite sufficient to suggest the possibility of a subsequent invasion.

Constans appears to have, either by threat or by treaty, secured a peace which lasted for about twenty years. Roman Britain continued to prosper during this period. It had, indeed, become " the granary of Rome ". Large consignments of grain were shipped to Gaul, where the frontier provinces suffered greatly from raids that devastated fields and homesteads.

A new generation was meantime growing up in Pictland which heard of the wars that had been and dreamed of wars to be. Sailors accustomed to visit Gaul in trading vessels brought back intelligence of happenings on the Continent; while bold pirates, who made descents along the eastern and western coasts of Roman Britain, had thrilling stories to tell of land forays and sea fights and of friendships they had formed with other peoples who, like themselves, were the enemies of Rome. Among the Pictish wanderers must have been men who had acquired some knowledge of foreign languages. In one of the Irish Cuchulainn sagas we find, indeed, that it was customary to study the tongues of different peoples. One Gaelic warrior, for instance, reminds another of the time when they had been engaged together in learning " the sweet Saxon speech ". The Pictish wanderers must have similarly equipped them-

selves, for we find them co-operating with the Saxon pirates as well as with the Gaelic-speaking Scots. The Pictish language appears to have been more closely related to that of the Britons than to the language of the Gaels. In time it became customary for the Saxon mariners not only to visit Orkney, but to use harbours like Scapa Flow when co-operating with the Pictish seafarers. Some at least of the Saxons may have therefore learned to speak the language of the Picts.

For several years there were meetings of Pictish, Irish, and Saxon leaders, until at length they began to co-operate with a fixed and common purpose as the enemies of Rome. In the end a great war broke out with dramatic suddenness, and a few years later it culminated in the invasion of Roman Britain, which was harried on an extensive scale.

It is evident that the Picts were the ringleaders. There may, indeed, have been a Pictish Hannibal who was the directing mind of the joint military and naval operations. The Picts, it must not be overlooked, had their own particular viewpoint—their own wrongs to avenge and their own dreams of expansion to realize. To the Romans they may have constituted a troublesome menace, but the Roman power in Britain was, on the other hand, undoubtedly a constant and dangerous menace to the ambitious Picts. The Pictish Hannibal was, no doubt, acquainted with the details of the Scottish campaign of the Roman Emperor Severus, who had undertaken to shatter the Celtic military organization north of the Forth. He appears to have himself undertaken to shatter the Roman power, first in Scotland south of the Forth, and afterwards in the region of the wall of Hadrian.

There can be no doubt as to the existence of an alliance, for Ammianus, in his brief references to the rising, uses the term *conspiratio*. The Picts were co-operating not only

with the Scots of Ireland and the Atacotti, but with the Saxons who so often harassed the south-eastern coasts of Roman Britain and conducted piratical raids against merchant vessels in the English Channel.

We gather that the Picts had consolidated their power in Scotland north of the Forth, being divided into two tribes known as the Dicalydones and the Verturiones. In other words, they had imposed their system of dual organization upon the subject tribes, including the Caledonians. Perhaps the aristocrats of their Orc clan governed one section and those of their Cat clan the other.

The war did not at first greatly disturb the Roman War Office. It was, no doubt, regarded as one which could be adequately dealt with by the governor and his generals in Britain. Year after year it was, however, waged on an increasing scale, until in A.D. 368 a serious crisis was reached. At a time when the Continental frontiers were being heavily harassed, tidings of a great disaster in Britain suddenly added to the general alarm. As Ammianus says, it seemed then as if " the trumpet of war resounded all over the Roman world ".

The Picts and their allies had evidently long prepared for war. Not only did they arm and train every available man and secure the co-operation of Irish and Saxon allies, but engaged themselves in propaganda work. The *Arcani* or " Secret Servicemen " in southern Scotland were tampered with, and there were plottings with natives of Roman Britain and even with Roman officials.

A sinister figure of this period was Valentinus, a Pannonian aristocrat who had been exiled to Britain because of a conviction for homicide. He appears to have had dreams of becoming ruler of Roman Britain, if not of the whole Western Roman Empire. To what extent he co-operated

with the Picts and their allies can never be known, but it is certain that he took advantage of the situation created by their war by attempting to realize his own particular ambition.

The attacks by sea and land in northern England met with ultimate success. Hadrian's wall was turned and breached, and the garrisons either overcome or induced to submit. The Roman general of the north was slain. He was named Fullofaudes, and he was certainly not of Roman descent. The other leader, Nectarides, who attended to the maritime defences, fell a victim to the swords of the seafaring invaders who harried the coasts. The Roman military defence was in time completely disorganized. Many officers appear to have been tampered with. The deserters were so numerous that it would seem there were at the time large sections of native Britons south of the wall who were willing to co-operate with the enemies of Rome. At anyrate, they made little show of resistance.

The " Highland Host " which swept into England through the breaches in Hadrian's wall was evidently a powerful and disciplined force. We are reminded by their advance of the march of the army of Prince Charles Edward Stuart of the " Forty-five ", which was directed towards London, but came to a halt at Derby. The Picts and Scots met with more success in the fourth century than did their descendants in the eighteenth, for they reached London and assailed its defences. Other contingents arrived in troopships and war vessels—Saxons from the Pictish bases and the Continent, and Irish who had landed in western England or came through the English Channel.

London, protected by its wall, was able to hold out, but was crowded with refugees. The problem of food supplies must consequently have been a serious one. Outside the walls the besiegers dispatched foraging parties to collect

cattle and grain and lay waste the country. It is apparent that they hoped to capture London, the capital of Roman Britain, by starving its inhabitants to submission.

We do not know how it fared with other towns. Those which, like York, were garrisoned may have held out; those which were unprotected must have been plundered. Roman villas, the seats of country gentlemen, were destroyed, and all civil administration was completely disorganized. We do not know whether the civil governor was slain, or whether he had lent a sympathetic ear to the plotting of Valentinus.

The crisis in Roman Britain must have developed rapidly, for when tidings of disaster were carried to the fair-haired and fierce-tempered Emperor Valentinianus, who at the time was in Gaul, the whole country was already involved in ruin. He found it necessary to dispatch emissaries to obtain fuller particulars, and when he learned from them how grave the situation had really become, he acted promptly and, as it proved, wisely.

That great general Theodosius, father of the later Emperor of that name, was dispatched to Britain with a force of auxiliaries and a strong fleet, while preparations were made to send him reinforcements.

Theodosius landed at Richborough (Rutupiæ), then a Roman naval base situated on a small island between Thanet and the mainland. His first operations were directed to the relief of London. A wide sweeping movement was suddenly set in progress, and bands of plunderers engaged in cattle-driving and collecting prisoners were " rounded up " and put to the sword. In time the besiegers were driven back from the walls of London, and that great city was entered by Theodosius's force, no doubt amidst great enthusiasm. The relief of London was, however, all that the general could accomplish for a time.

One of the early and significant acts of Theodosius was to issue a proclamation calling upon all deserters and wanderers to return to the colours. He also found it necessary to ask the Emperor for a trusty civil governor, and Civilis, " a man of quick temper, but just and upright ", says Ammianus Marcellinus, was accordingly sent across the Channel. He also secured the services of the able general Dulcitius, who was to act as second-in-command.

Meantime, reinforcements were continually arriving, including Roman legionaries and the finest auxiliaries in the West. Several regiments of cavalry which crossed with the others were specially required for sweeping movements. A strong Roman navy was also mobilized.

Theodosius does not appear to have taken any risks, and he spent a busy winter preparing for the reconquest of Romanized Britain. Valentinus, the Pannonian exile, meanwhile engaged himself in plotting with the Roman officers, and apparently with some success.

In the spring of 369 Theodosius took the field, while his fleet co-operated along the coasts. The invaders must have been already in full retreat, for we hear of no big battle. Probably the Roman fleet drove northward the enemy war vessels, while the cavalry prevented concentrations of the land forces. Stragglers and bands of plunderers were subdued or scattered, and the Roman columns gradually cleared the whole country northward as far as Hadrian's wall, which was repaired and regarrisoned.

Valentinus made, during the course of these operations, an attempt to seize the reins of power. He must have been confident that many of the Roman officers would rally to his aid. But Dulcitius, second-in-command to Theodosius, had been keeping close watch upon the exile. He captured Valentinus and his fellow-conspirators, and had them tried

by drum-head court martial and executed. Roman Britain was thus secured from a fresh revolt. Theodosius appears to have prevented a close inquiry into the intrigues of the usurper, which must have compromised a number of his own officers. Ammianus Marcellinus says significantly that Theodosius feared such an investigation might only cause fresh troubles in Britain.

After re-establishing Roman authority in the region of Hadrian's wall, Theodosius conducted military operations in the Scottish Lowlands. According to Ammianus, he dissolved the secret service force known as the *Arcani*, which must have been found wanting, probably, as has been suggested, because the Pictish propagandists had tampered with them. The Lowland area was probably the "province" which Theodosius "recovered" for Rome and renamed Valentia. It appears, however, to have been a sort of Dependency rather than a province in the strict sense of the term, in which Romanized Celtic aristocrats had held sway. The existence of the *Arcani* indicates that the Antonine wall played little part in the system of defence. Probably the Votadini and Damnonii were hostile to the Picts who had imposed their rule upon the Caledonians and other tribes north of the Forth.

Ammianus does not say anything regarding the naval operations of Theodosius on the Scottish mainland and coasts, but Claudianus, the poet, supplies some significant details when, at a later date, he sings the praises of Honorius, the grandson of the great general. The poet tells that Theodosius pitched his camp "amidst the snows of Caledonia", and "subdued the coasts of Britain, laying waste the north and south with equal success". He could not be held back, we are told, by either "the everlasting snows, the frosty air or the uncharted sea". Sailing northward, Theo-

dosius crossed the Pentland Firth and struck at the naval bases of the allies. "The Orcades (Orkneys)," Claudianus sings, "were made red with the blood of Saxons, Thule (Shetland) waxed hot with the blood of the Picts, and ice-cold Hibernia (Ireland) wept for heaps of slain Scots."

As a Saxon fleet was based in Orkney, it may well be that there was also an Irish fleet there. It does not follow that Theodosius invaded Ireland. Indeed, had he done so, it is unlikely that Claudianus would have applied to it the term "ice-cold". The poet informs us very precisely that it was the coasts of Britain that were subdued, and he makes no mention of the Irish coasts. The fact that Theodosius found it necessary to cross the Pentland Firth affords a good indication as to the quarter from which the chief trouble came. For systematic naval operations on the eastern and western coasts of Britain, Scapa Flow was as certainly in the fourth century as in the twentieth an ideal natural naval base.

The vessels of the Scots, which, no doubt, resembled those of the Picts, are referred to by Vegetius (A.D. 380) as *scaphæ* (skiffs) and described as undecked vessels with masts and sails and twenty oars a side, and, therefore, not unlike those of the later Vikings. The hulls, sails, ropes, and even the clothing of the crews were of neutral tints. Evidently the camouflaging of war-vessels was practised in northern waters as it had been by the early Greek mariners in the Mediterranean. In hazy weather the swift Celtic skiffs—the "destroyers" of their time—could effect surprise attacks on the coasts of Roman Britain before the Roman sentinels had time to spread the alarm. The wall of Hadrian must have been frequently "turned" by these "destroyers", and that must have been why Theodosius found it necessary to add to the protection of the wall by basing fleets at

Arbeia on the east coast and Tunnocelum on the west. He also established on the east coast-guard stations which were subsequently elaborated into Broch-like forts.

Theodosius also took steps to prevent the formation of future alliances on a big scale. Instead of waging war against the Irish, he appears to have made tempting offers to them. It was from his time that we find forces of Scots and Ataçotti serving as Roman auxiliaries. On the Continent, St. Jerome was led to believe that the terrible Atacotti were cannibals, and, while we may dismiss this charge as a fiction told by some practical joker, it is of interest to find that St. Jerome refers to the Atacotti as " Britons " and not as Irishmen.

In addition to reducing the available " man power " which might serve the future purposes of the Picts, Teutons were settled among the Britons. The Emperor Valentinianus invaded and laid waste the country of the Alemanni and afterwards sent to England many of the able-bodied men of the tribe of the Buccinobantes, from the eastern banks of the Rhine opposite Mainz. These colonists were given land, and in return they served as a militia (*fœderati*). It may be that the Britons were not completely trusted by the Emperor and Theodosius, and that the Teutons were planted among them to assist in suppressing revolts.

The operations of Theodosius, as a general, admiral, and statesman, appear to have secured for Roman Britain comparative peace for about a generation. Valentinianus I passed away in A.D. 375, and in the following year Theodosius died a violent death at Carthage, as a victim of court intrigues. Gratianus, son of Valentinianus, who had become Emperor of the West, proved to be unpopular with the army, partly because he preferred hunting to the battlefield and partly because of his friendly relations with the Christians.

Roman Britain then became, as it had been formerly, a fertile centre of intrigue. In A.D. 383 Magnus Clemens Maximus, a Spaniard who had held a high command on our island, headed a revolt, crossed over to Gaul with an army, and slew Gratianus after his troops had deserted him. Maximus had already been proclaimed King of Britain, and he added Gaul to his possessions. When, however, he entered Italy, he was defeated and slain by Theodosius I, Emperor of the East and son of the great general of that name, who had won renown by thwarting the Huns and Goths.

According to Gildas, the British churchman of the sixth century, who provides some historical matter, Maximus, when engaged in his final struggle, drew largely upon the army of occupation in Britain and also enlisted many young natives of Britain—" the flower of her youth "—who never returned to their native land. An inevitable result was a renewal of the attacks upon Roman Britain by the Picts and Scots and Saxons, although Maximus had previously won a success against the Picts either at Hadrian's wall or somewhere in the Lowlands. According to Gildas, Roman Britain was once more invaded, but apparently not on the same big scale as in the time of Theodosius the general. The harassed Britons dispatched ambassadors to Rome, entreating military aid, and a Roman force was sent across the Channel to clear Britain of the invaders.

No sooner, however, had the Roman soldiers returned to the Continent than the trouble broke out afresh. Once more the allies came by sea and land, overrunning the whole country.

The Roman authorities were again appealed to, and mounted forces and warships were dispatched to Britain to restore peace. According to Gildas, the cavalry and the mariners inflicted great losses on the invaders, who were

driven beyond the seas across which they had been in the habit of transporting the plunder gained in their raids and forays.

There are illuminating references in the writings of the Roman poet Claudianus to the Roman military and naval operations of this period. In his praises of Stilicho, the Romanized Vandal, who had been elevated to the consulship at Rome, he visualizes Britain, " clad in the skin of some Caledonian beast, her cheeks tattooed and an azure cloak, resembling the swelling ocean, falling to her feet ".

Britain is made to hail Stilicho as her saviour at a time when she seemed about to perish at the hands of her enemies. The poem continues:

" Stilicho aided me when the Scots roused all Ierne (Ireland) against me and Tethys (the ocean) foamed with hostile oarage. As a result of his protection, it befell that I feared not the Scotic javelins, nor dreaded the Pict, nor, my shores being safe, kept watch for the Saxons who were wont to come in all weathers (with winds of doubtful friendship)."

In another poem Claudianus declares that " the Saxons have been subdued and the seas rendered safe, the Picts have been defeated and Britain made secure ". He also sings of the Roman legion left to guard Britain, " which kept the fierce Scots at bay " and were accustomed to scan " the strange devices tattooed on the faces of dying Picts ".

Irish traditional history tells that early in the fifth century the famous Irish king, Niall of the Nine Hostages, was killed on board ship by a Leinster prince while on a naval expedition against Britain. His brother, who succeeded him, perished when on a similar expedition about A.D. 429.

It appears to have been during this period that the Roman stone-built " watch towers " on the coast of Yorkshire were erected. They differ from those on the " Saxon shore " farther

south, and appear to have served a similar purpose to that of the Pictish Brochs. Inland towns were protected with walls or had their existing defences strengthened. During the latter part of the fourth century, Roman Britain was thus, despite the boasting of Claudianus, placed on the defensive.

The Pictish sway over Scotland appears to have been extended southward into the Lowlands. Brochs were erected at Wigtownshire on the west, while in the east a great Pictish stronghold was constructed at Cockburn Law in Berwickshire. The latter occupied a level space on a spur of the hill overlooking the valley of Whitadder water. There Scotland's largest Broch was erected. Its walls were no fewer than seventeen feet thick, and the masonry, as the ruins show, was of massive character. The width of the inner court was about fifty-six feet in diameter—that is, about twice that of most other Brochs. Four other circular forts were built in its vicinity, and the wonderful group of strongholds was protected by two parallel earthworks of oval form and an outlying ditch, while inside there were earthworks of irregular formation. The plan of this remarkable military station suggests that the Picts had not only enlarged the Broch, but combined it with the typical oval camp of the Lowland tribes and the system of ditches and earthworks developed by the Romans in Scotland. The Stirlingshire Broch at Torwood in the parish of Dunipace had walls fifteen feet in thickness. Both it and the Berwickshire Broch, which does not appear to have been long occupied, had spiral stairways opening on the left and were entered through high and narrow doorways.

During the reign of Stilicho's Emperor, the weak Honorius, grandson of the general Theodosius, the Roman power was rapidly falling into decay. Alaric the Goth twice captured

and sacked Rome (A.D. 409–10). The British army made efforts to save the West, and unsuccessful bids for power were made by Marcus and Gratianus. Then a private soldier with the inspiring name of Constantinus rose to power, and for four years (407–11) held sway over Britain, Gaul, and Spain.

Although Gildas would have it that Britain was divested of its troops, Zosimus, the contemporary Roman historian, represents the Britons as holding their own against the invaders. The Teutonic militia and the native British soldiers, who had been expelling Irishmen from North Wales, were evidently more successful than Gildas would have us suppose or, perhaps, knew in his day—a century later.

Constantinus had, however, the assistance of a force, presumably of Romanized Britons, under the command of the British general Gerontius. The latter, after conducting operations in Spain, revolted and had Constantinus put to death. His sympathies appear to have been with the Emperor Honorius. In time both Constantinus and Gerontius (whom the Welsh knew as Geraint the Dumnonian) became notable figures in the Arthurian romances.

Communications between Britain and the weak Emperor were restored, although Gerontius and his soldiers do not appear to have returned home. According to Zosimus (VI, 10), Honorius sent a communication to the cities of Britain, cancelling the law which forbade the civilians to carry arms, and counselling them to provide for the defence of their country. Thus early in the fifth century Roman rule came to an end in Britain.

Gildas presents a lurid picture of subsequent events. The wall of Hadrian appears to have been garrisoned by British troops, but they were " slow to fight " and kept

" unprofitable watch ". The Picts approached the wall and, with hooked weapons, dragged down the sentinels, whom they dashed to death. In time the wall was cleared of the defenders and, when the invaders swept southward, many cities were deserted.

The Picts are the chief villains in the narrative of Gildas. He had certainly no cause to love them, and we find him describing them as " savage men with more hair on their villainous faces than decent clothing on their bodies ". According to later evidence, " the Picts ", as Watson notes, " harried Gildas's retreat on an islet in the Severn estuary ". Nor did Gildas love the Scots, for he tells us that both they and the Picts came forth from their holes " like worms at the heat of midday " and " landed hastily from their boats ". He knew well from personal experience that the Picts, as well as the Scots, were active and daring seafarers.

CHAPTER VIII

Glimpses of Celtic Life

Pictish Scotland emerged from the long struggle with Rome a self-reliant and independent nation, disciplined by adversity and inspired by the memories of achievements won by strenuous efforts and great daring. It was, withal, well governed by statesmen who possessed a high degree of political capacity. Having measured its strength against the greatest military state the world had ever seen, Pictland learned much of the science of war, imitating Roman methods of organization and planning campaigns which were persisted in despite temporary reverses. Its military leaders were accustomed to employ the mercenaries of other nations as auxiliaries on land and sea. Compared with the Pictish battles against Rome, those waged in the old Celtic manner between rival factions in a country like Ireland were almost sporting events, governed by rules which permitted individual warriors to engage in single combats while whole armies looked on. Cuchulainn, the outstanding hero of the Irish sagas, had only to issue a challenge at a ford to hold up an army invading Ulster. Then he set himself to give proof of his valour and powers of endurance, like a chivalrous knight of later times tilting in sight of a crowd of courtly spectators.

Rome knew naught of the laws of chivalry in the stern business of war. It was out to slaughter and subdue—to

make a " desolation ", if necessary, and " call it peace ". The Picts had to do as the Romans did, or else submit to the system of military control which had suppressed the spirit of liberty in Romanized Britain and robbed its people of initiative, and, by imposing upon them a new language, obliterated the traditions of ancestral achievements. It was apparently because Pictland had been forced to become a military nation, fighting for its very existence, that, as the Irish sagas tell, the Celtic ruling classes in Erin were in the habit of sending their young men to Alba (Scotland) to undergo courses of military training. Cuchulainn and Ferdiad, for instance, attended a military college in Skye.

In the fourth century the Irish body of regulars known as the Fiana (the " Fingalians " of Macpherson) came into existence, evidently as a result of the experiences gained by Irish mercenaries who were recruited to increase the man power of the enemies of Rome in ancient Britain.

In addition to supplying mercenaries to the Picts, Ireland also organized raids on its own account. The Irish raids and forays on the coasts of Wales and Cornwall were followed by conquests and settlements during the latter part of the Roman period. We learn, too, of exiles from Ireland seeking new homes across the sea. A people called the Déisi, banished from Meath, took refuge in Wales, according to an Irish account, and founded a colony there about the end of the third century.

The Picts, having established a strong centralized government north of the Forth, appear to have had dreams of expansion as far south as Hadrian's wall. As much is indicated by the existence of their Brochs in Wigtownshire on the west and Berwickshire on the east. Theodosius had, however, as we have seen, countered this scheme of Pictish extension by organizing the province or dependency

of Valentia on new lines. Although Valentia may not have endured for long, its people, and especially its ruling classes, became decidedly pro-Roman in their sympathies. This was especially the case in the area which became known as Manau of the Guotodin (that is, of the Votadini), the capital of which appears to have been Edinburgh. Watson shows that the British place-name ultimately became in early Gaelic Manu, Mana, with genitive Manann, and that it survives in the modern place-names Slamannan (" upland of Manu ") and Clackmannan (" stone of Manu ").

The Votadini leaders, as the allies of Rome, neither suffered loss of identity nor of experience in acting in times of war on their own initiative. When the power of Rome was declining, the value of their military services was fully appreciated, as is shown by the fact that at the end of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, the Votadini received a call to deal with the growing Irish peril in North Wales. Their military leader, Cunedda (Cunedag), went southward with a strong force and succeeded in subduing the Irish immigrants and conquerors in Carnarvon and Anglesea. The Gaelic survivors ultimately merged in the British population, and their descendants became as Welsh as the Welsh themselves.

Cunedda never returned to Manu and the Lothians, which the Picts in his time overran and subdued. This gentleman from Edinburgh became a Welsh national hero, although he does not appear to have been permanently resident in Wales. Mailcun, a famous warrior-king of Gwynedd (North Wales), is referred to by Nennius as one of the descendants of Cunedda, with whose exploits as a leader of the *Gwyr y Gogledd* (" the Men of the North ") the oldest Welsh poetry is so greatly concerned. His followers became typical Welshmen too. Indeed, Wales appears to have owed much of its

strength and organization to the heroes from Scotland who freed them from the Irish peril.

In the *Book of Taliessin*, Cunedda's mother is said to have been a daughter of Coel. This reference connects her with Kyle in the modern county of Ayr, and reminds us of local tradition as preserved in the opening lines of Robert Burns's " The Twa Dogs ":

> " 'Twas in that place o' Scotland's isle
> That bears the name o' Auld King Coil . . ."

The king in question was Coel Hen; his family ruled, independently of the Kings of Strathclyde, in Ayrshire and Galloway. Cunedda's father was Æternus, his grandfather Paternus, and his great-grandfather Tacitus. These are all Roman names. Evidently the rulers of the Votadini had been largely Romanized. Paternus or Padarn was given the epithet of " Peisrudd "—that is, " him of the red tunic ". Rhys comments in this connexion that he must have " worn the official purple under the Roman administration ", and, drawing upon Welsh tradition, he suggests that Cunedda became the *gwledig* (ruler or prince) or *Dux Britanniarum* in northern and western England and in Wales.

Cunedda appears to have had his head-quarters at Carlisle with a force which included 900 horsemen. His Welsh descendants were prominent in political and Church life. One of his grandsons, Merion, is said to have given his name to Merioneth, and a son, named Keredig, to Keredigion (Cardiganshire).

Like the Irish in Wales, those who settled in Scotland during the Roman period were absorbed in the native population. Apparently the Picts gave their allies the Scots " sword lands " as military governors and vassals. Their areas of settlement can still be traced in surviving place-

names. Watson shows that the old area known as Fortrenn (the Gaelic name of the country called after the Verturiones) was divided into Menteith (the country of the Keirs) and Strathearn (" Ireland's strath "), which originally extended to the Firth of Forth, as is indicated by the hill with its ancient fort still called Dunearn, near Burntisland, Fife. Culross was also in Strathearn. The " Irishmen's strath " marched with Atholl, which retains the old name of *Fótla*, later *Fódhla* (Ireland) with the prefix *ath* (denoting " repetition "), and therefore meaning " New Ireland ". Watson traces other Irish settlements in the place-names Findhorn (" White Eren "), Cullerne (" nook of Eren "), and Earnhill (" hill of Eren "). Strathdearn (in Gaelic Srath Éireann) is " Ireland's strath ", and near Dulsie Bridge is *Dun Éireann* (" Ireland's fort "). Deveron, as Watson goes on to show, means " Black Eren ", while Banff recalls Banba, an old name of Ireland. " It is also notable," Watson adds, " that a stream near Deveron on the west is called Boyne." Elgin is, according to Kuno Meyer, " Little Ireland ". The Ewings and MacEwens of Angus, &c., are descendants of Scots from Ireland.

It is significant to find that the Scots were settled in the particular areas formerly controlled by the Caledonians, the Vacomagi, &c. But these Irish immigrants were subjects of the Pictish king. The Pictish system of dual organization was extended over the whole area north of the Forth, and by the time of Bede we no longer hear of " Scots " or " Caledonians " in Pictland, but of the " Northern Picts " and the " Southern Picts ", who were separated by " rugged mountain chains " (the Grampians).

No Pictish writings have survived to throw light on the civilization of Scotland during the Roman or early post-Roman period. We can, however, obtain glimpses of that

civilization by drawing upon the evidence afforded by archæology, folk-lore, and mythology, as well as the ancient Irish chronicles and sagas and the Lives of early Christian saints.

The archæological relics of the Picts include, as we have seen, the wonderful Brochs and their contents, which reveal the northern Celts, or Celtiberians, of Scotland as builders of strongholds of more massive character than those of the Romans, as well as excellent artisans, industrious agriculturists, and daring seafarers. Tradition assigns to them the underground dwellings referred to as "Picts houses". These are distributed chiefly along the east coast from Berwickshire northwards, and are found to have been, as a rule, connected with overground dwellings. Long and curving narrow galleries were lined with stone and entered by a low doorway. One at Cairn Conan, near Arbroath, has an entrance only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and less than 2 feet high, leading to the interior through a narrow passage. The main gallery is 65 feet in length and is lined by undressed stones, a greater part of the floor being formed of a soft rock which had been levelled. A side passage jutting off from the gallery leads to a circular chamber paved with flags and about 20 feet in diameter. At Tealing in Forfarshire is a curving earth-house about 80 feet long with an entrance passage about 3 feet wide. The average width of the chamber is about 8 feet, and the height is 6 feet. An earth-house at Crichton Mains, Midlothian, about $51\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and widening from 5 feet 10 inches to 9 feet, is about 6 feet in height. The walls and roof are lined with stone and the floor formed of the natural rock. An interesting fact is that some of the stones of this construction had been taken from a Roman building. Roman pottery has been found in some of these so-called "Picts houses".

Somewhat similar earth-houses are found in Ireland, usually in association with fortified places, and also in south-western England. Tacitus (*Germania*, c. 16) refers to the habit of some German tribes of excavating "subterranean caves", which they covered with heaps of manure and used as shelters in cold weather and as storehouses for grain. When an enemy, Tacitus adds, invaded the country he ravaged the surface, but these underground dwellings remained undiscovered because they required close search to locate them.

It may be that the "Picts houses" were similarly used for storing food and served also as hiding-places and winter dwellings. Some of the relics found in them indicate that the civilization of the builders was as high as that of the occupants of the Brochs. These include not only Roman and native pottery, but finely wrought bronze armlets, some decorated with enamels. "Their workmanship," as Dr. Joseph Anderson has emphasized, "evinces skill and taste of a very high order," and he adds:

> "The occurrence of these works of art in such associations may serve to remind us how greatly we should have erred if we had estimated the capacity and culture of the inhabitants of these structures by their architectural character alone, or if we had measured their condition and acquirements merely by the fact that they burrowed underground."

Since Dr. Anderson's day the excavations at Traprain have thrown a flood of light on the civilization of the Lowland Britons. This eminence, as is indicated by finds of socketed bronze axes, &c., had been occupied in pre-Celtic times. The Celts who took possession of it had reached a high stage of culture. Iron sickles and spear-heads show that they were agriculturists and warriors,

while their opaque glass armlets, some coloured white and blue, their glass beads with spiral ornamentation, and their exquisite examples of enamel work betray artistic craftsmanship of as high a level as that of the famous Battersea shield. The frequent occurrence of blue among their ornaments suggests that that colour had for them a religious or magico-religious value. Seneca (*c.* A.D. 2–68), the Roman writer, refers to the " blue shields " of the Brigantes, and, as has been indicated, the Votadini of the Lothians appear to have been a branch of that Celtic tribe.

Roman writers have little to say regarding the appearance and clothing of the Celtic warriors. The Picts, as has been noted, appear to have practised tattooing, and we gather from ancient Irish evidence that certain notable warriors in Ireland tattooed like them. Some had animals depicted upon their bodies, and these may have been cult or totemic animals. The tattooing habit certainly did not have origin in the British Isles. The custom of body painting, which obtained in parts of Britain, was a very widespread one in ancient times. Roman generals smeared their faces with a red substance when taking part in a Triumph to appear " flushed with victory ", and Roman ladies spotted their faces with shell purple. Face painting was practised by the ancient Egyptians, and the custom is not yet extinct among the most highly civilized powder and lip-stick using peoples, although it has lost its magical significance and is more " imitative of nature ".

An extract made by O'Curry from an ancient Irish tale gives us a " pen picture " of three Picts at the court of an Irish king. They are described as " three great brown (haired) men, with three round heads of hair, of equal length at poll and forehead. They wore three short black cowls, reaching to their elbows, and long hoods to their

cowls. They had three enormous black swords, and three black shields over them; and three black (handled) broad green spears over them (that is, standing by their sides and reaching above their heads)."

According to Diodorus Siculus, who drew upon the lost writings of Poseidonius of Apamea, the Celtiberians wore black goat's-hair cloaks and had round shields and iron swords. The Picts appear to have worn Celtiberian attire.

We have no details regarding the clothing of the Caledonians, but they may have been clad like the Continental Celts, who wore, as Polybius tells, leather tunics and breeches in battle. Poseidonius refers to the breeches and other garments of fine wool. Martial, in one of his epigrams, mentions the " loose breeches " of the Britons.

Some of the Celtic tribes in Scotland may have been attired like those in Ireland. At anyrate, Tacitus says the civilization of Ireland was similar to that of Britain, while Gildas informs us that the Scots and Picts differed little in their customs. Cuchulainn, the Ulster hero, had " a well sewn kilt of brown leather ", and under it wore trews. There is no mention of the plaid. In the eleventh and fourteenth century Irish carvings, priests and warriors are depicted wearing tartan kilts and close-fitting tunics. Evidently, therefore, the kilt and plaid did not, as some have rashly assumed, " evolve " from the primitive blanket. On the Continent tartan plaids were worn with breeches.

The Celtic costumes of the various divisions of the Irish army of allies which fought against the men of Ulster are described in the ancient Gaelic epic, the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*. One of Cormac's companies had their black hair closely shorn and wore tunics reaching to their knees, green mantles,

and many-coloured (? tartan) cloaks. In another company the hair was short in front and long behind, and the men were attired in white tunics and dark-blue cloaks. The third troop was formed of men with hair of gold falling down to their shoulders; and their cloaks were of purple and their long tunics had hoods. " Together," we are told, " they raised their feet and together they set them down again." Some had silver brooches and others brooches of gold, and some had swords with golden hilts and fist-guards of silver.

The references to hair fashions are interesting. We find that Gaelic kings wore forked beards and warriors moustaches, " in most cases ", says Joyce, " curled up and pointed at the ends ". It was compulsory that the common people should have clean shaves at least once in three weeks. The kilted priests had their own particular shaving customs. Those priestly figures carved on the eleventh-century shrine of St. Manchan probably represent different grades. One has a moustache and shaved chin and cheeks with a chin-tuft forked beard; two have upper lip and chin bare and short beards; another has a forked beard and bare upper lip, chin, and cheeks; and one wears a moustache and short beard but has his chin shaved. The shaving customs of modern ecclesiastical sects have evidently a long history.

Druids appear to have been costumed according to rank. Strabo (IV, 275) refers to them wearing scarlet with gold brocade and collars and bracelets of gold. The chief Druid of Tara, Ireland, according to O'Curry, had a " speckled cloak " and golden ear-clasps when performing juggling feats. St. Patrick once preached at a fountain which was worshipped as a god, and the chief Druid came against him with nine subordinates attired in white. The classical reference to " long-trousered Druids " is well known.

The colours worn by the sexes and various ranks in Ireland are referred to in the following stanza in the *Book of Ballymote*:

> " Mottled to simpletons, blue to women·
> Purple to kings of every host;
> Green and black to noble laymen;
> White to clerics of meet devotion."

CHAPTER IX

Christianity and Paganism

Christianity was introduced into Britain during the Roman period and ultimately reached the Lowlands of Scotland. According to Bede, St. Ninian, the earliest known Scottish saint, was " a man of the British nation " and a bishop. He settled at Whithorn in Galloway, where he built " a church of stone ", which was " not usual amongst the Britons ", and he called it Candida Casa, " White House ". The Anglo-Saxon name *Whit-ern* means " White Cottage ".

Bede tells that St. Ninian had been instructed in Rome in " the faith and mysteries of the truth ". He named his episcopal see after St. Martin. Bede says further that at Whithorn Ninian and other saints " rest in the body ", while the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 565, states that at Whithorn Ninian " resteth with many holy men ".

St. Martin of Tours, to whom the church of Whithorn was dedicated, died in A.D. 396, 400, or 403, and St. Ninian is said by some to have died in 432, but this is uncertain. If Ninian was at the time of his death over seventy years of age, he would have been a young boy when Theodosius, the Roman general, drove the Picts and their allies out of England and established a new system of defence in Valentia which provided for the raising and training of such native levies as we subsequently find under the command of Cunedda. According to Bede, the Southern Picts—those, as he says, who were separated from the

Northern Picts by chains of mountains (the Grampians)—had been Christianized by the preaching of St. Ninian. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes a similar statement.

St. Patrick was born in Strathclyde about A.D. 386 (Zimmer) or 389 (Bury), when Ninian was erecting or about to erect his church of stone at Whithorn. Patrick's father had been a decurion in a Roman force—probably a force of Roman auxiliaries in Valentia. After his period of service he was, according to Roman custom, settled on the land. At sixteen Patrick was made a prisoner and carried off by a band of Irish raiders, by whom he was sold as a slave in Antrim. He escaped six years later and returned to his native land. Then he trained as a priest, possibly at Whithorn, and about the year 432 he crossed over to Ireland to preach the gospel. Scotland, which gave Wales its Cunedda as a national hero, thus gave to Ireland the famous Patrick to be national saint.

A precious relic of this period was discovered by Mr. W. Galloway in the priory church at Whithorn in 1891. This is a stone pillar with the inscription:

TE DOMINV[S?] LAVDAMVS LATINVS
ANNORV[M] XXXV ET FILIA SVA
ANN[ORVM] IV [H]IC SI[G]NVM
FECERV[N]T NEPVS BARROVADI

"We praise thee, Lord. Latinus aged 35 years and his daughter aged 4 (rest) here. The descendant of Barrovados made (this) monument."

In H.M. Office of Works guide to Whithorn Priory the view is expressed that "the lettering is late Roman, and the barbarous Latin might be of the fourth or fifth century A.D.". Barrovados is a British name. The Christian name Latinus indicates that he was one of the Romanized Britons and, if the traditional Whithorn dating is accurate, a con-

temporary of St. Ninian. He was a Christian and was probably an influential layman. In Ailred's *Life of St. Ninian* it is stated that nobles and men of the middle rank had their sons educated by the " blessed Pontiff ".

> " He indoctrinated these by his knowledge, he formed them by his example, curbing by a salutary discipline the vices to which their age was prone, and persuasively inculcating the virtues whereby they might live soberly, righteously and piously."

That the Whithorn community was not an isolated one is made manifest in the story of a young backslider who took flight and " sought diligently for a ship which might transport him to Scocia ". The saint himself had in his youth " crossed the Britannic Sea ", landing on the Continent and making his way to Rome. When he returned home he took with him masons whom he had obtained from St. Martin of Tours. There was evidently during St. Ninian's time regular communication between Gaul and the western seaports of Britain.

When St. Ninian and his disciples began to preach Christianity to the Britons of the Lowlands and the Southern Picts, they came into contact with several pagan cults. The evidence to be gleaned from folk-lore and the Lives of the early Christian saints emphasizes that there was no such thing as a homogeneous Celtic religion. We meet rather with mosaics of religious beliefs and practices—jumbles of religious notions. On the Continent there were numerous Celtic gods and goddesses—local deities and tribal deities and the deities of imported cults.

One of the cults was that of the god Cernunnos, the horned and " squatting " deity who figures on Gaulish coins and on Gaulish monuments of the early Roman period associated with Romanized Celtic gods and goddesses.

On an altar in the Rheims Museum he has cow's horns on his head and wears a beard; there is a torque round his neck and an armlet on his upper right arm. He squats between the Roman forms of the Celtic Apollo and Mercury. From a bag lying across his knees he pours out a " stream " of acorns or beech mast which are being devoured by a bull and a stag. Above the god's head is a North African ant-eater.

A fragment of first-century sculpture in relief found in the Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, displays the shoulders and head of Cernunnos with torques suspended from his horns. A block of stone from Saintes shows the god associated with goddesses, holding in his left hand a bag and in his right a torque. Other representations of the god include those which depict him with three heads or three faces. On a coin of the Remi, the Celtic tribe whose name is perpetuated in Rheims, Cernunnos is associated with the boar, the sun, and the serpent. Some of the monuments connect him with the ram-headed snake. On the altar at Vandœuvre (Indre) two serpents form a girdle for the god.

It is evident that Cernunnos was a prominent god in Gaul. A Roman wax tablet at Pesht refers to him as " Jupiter Cernenus ".

That the Cernunnos cult reached ancient England is suggested by mythological figures cut in stone which were in Roman times built into the masonry of the gateways at Bath. These included a youth in British attire holding a serpent in one hand and a girl " carrying two crested snakes ". One of the bronze figures dug up at Devizes in 1714 was that of a man in Celtic tunic and breeches with " a snake twined round arms and legs ".

On a late pagan or early Christian sculptured stone found at Meigle in Perthshire a composite figure appears in a

squatting posture between a mythological boar and a conventionalized wolf or leopard. The head is that of a horned bull, the body from neck to waist is human, the legs serpentine and entwined and terminating in fish-tails. Both arms are uplifted from the elbows, and the hands grasp wriggling snakes.

Fish-tail and solar symbols occur on the "horse-shoe" or sky symbol below which stands a bird, either a raven or an eagle, on a sculptured stone at Strathpeffer in the county of Ross and Cromarty. The fish-tails may here be symbols of rain or rivers.

A form of Cernunnos which seems to be more closely connected with the Meigle figure than with the Gaulish representations of the god, is seen on the Gundestrup cauldron preserved in the Danish National Museum at Copenhagen, which was found in a dried peat-moss at Raevmose, Aalborg, Jutland, the country of the Celtic Cimbri.

Cernunnos, attired in close-fitting tunic and breeches, squats in Buddhist fashion between a stag and a wolf (or hyena). On his head are the antlers of a stag, reminding us of Herne the Hunter of English folk-lore. In his left hand he grasps a ram-headed looping snake and in his right a torque.

This figure of Cernunnos bears a striking resemblance to the Buddhist god Virūpāksha, who similarly grasps a ram-headed looping snake in his left hand and in his right a circular symbol. Virūpāksha was a god of central Asia who had been fused with Hindu snake gods. He was imported in his composite form into India and Tibet at a later period than he reached western Europe. The fact that he was identified with Buddha indicates that we should not look to India for the origin of all

the heretical Buddhist cults, of which there were many.

The Gundestrup cauldron is a relic of La Tène civilization. On one of the plaques is a procession of warriors attired and armed like Celtic soldiers described by Poseidonius of Apamea, who visited Gaul before 75 B.C. There can be no doubt, therefore, about the period to which the Gundestrup cauldron should be assigned.

On other plaques of this cauldron are figures of Cernunnos as a sky-supporting god and of the mother-goddess of Asia Minor, who on one plaque appears, with her hands touching her breasts, between two spotted or star-spangled Indian elephants. On another plaque are representations of the " bovine rhinoceros " of Mesopotamian art. The fauna and symbols of the Gundestrup cauldron connect the cult of the Celtic god Cernunnos with that of the mother-goddess of Anatolia and with the heretical Buddhist cults of central Asia of which so little is known. The Parthians and Scythians were " Heretical Buddhists ". It may be that the earliest Buddha figure originated in central Asia. In India the oldest known Buddha figures appear on the Gandhara sculptures of the first century B.C. The god Virūpāksha appears to have acquired his attributes in central Asia. In western Europe, which he reached by way of Asia Minor, he became known as Cernunnos, a Celtic name derived from *cern*, horned, with the secondary meaning of " victorious ".

The influence of the Cernunnos cult appears to be traceable in Scottish stories of the " Isles of the Blest ", in the stories of man-carrying monster birds and man-carrying monster animals, in the haunting belief in the " Transmigration of Souls ", and in much of the lore regarding mythological serpents, water-horses, water-bulls, and other composite monsters.

In Scotland, as in Ireland, there are legends regarding the hero Diarmaid, who was killed by a boar, a " venomous bristle " having pierced his heel, that being, as in the case of the Homeric hero Achilles, the only vulnerable part of his body. We may have in Diarmaid a memory of the Anatolian god Attis, whose cult was fused with that of Cernunnos, as is indicated by the evidence of the Gundestrup cauldron.

Another non-Celtic feature of Scottish folk-lore is the pork taboo. The prejudice against the pig as a sinister animal and against its flesh as food still prevails in some Highland and Island areas. The Scottish prejudice against pork was referred to by Bishop Leslie in 1578. Dr. Johnson, in his account of his Hebridean tour, remarked on the fact that the pig was held in abhorrence in Skye, and Sir Walter Scott, in a footnote in his *The Fortunes of Nigel*, informs us that " the Scots (Lowlanders), till within the last generation, disliked swine's flesh as an article of food as much as the Highlanders do at present ". One of the Loyalist songs ridiculing the " Rump Parliament " in the seventeenth century makes reference to

> " The Jewish Scots that scorn to eat
> The flesh of swine."

Mr. J. M. M'Bain, in his *Arbroath: Past and Present*, tells that the fisher folks of Arbroath and Auchmithie had " a great aversion to the flesh of the pig coming into contact with their boats ". Sometimes practical jokers placed a piece of pork in a boat. As soon as it was discovered, the fishermen, even although they had reached the fishing ground, " would return to the land without shooting their nets rather than proceed with their fishing with the hated junk aboard ".

If this prejudice against pork combined with a superstitious fear of the pig had origin in early Christian times, we should expect to find traces of it in England and Ireland. The fact that we do not is significant indeed.

Like the Continental Celts, those of Ireland and England were pig breeders and pork eaters. In Anatolia, however, the Celtic Galatians tabooed pork. The reason given by Pausanias for their taboo is that Attis had been killed by a boar. In other words, the Galatians became converts of the cult of Attis.

Another link between western Asia and Scotland is afforded by the ceremonial mouse feast. In an old Irish manuscript tale, reprinted in *Revue Celtique* (Vol. XIII), an Irish royal refugee becomes, instead of the " blood brother ", the " mouse brother " of a king in Scotland by swallowing a raw mouse. His followers, much against their will, swallow mice too. Apparently the cult of Mouse-Apollo had reached Scotland. The " carriers " may have been the Druids of the Cernunnos cult. Andrew Lang, in his *Custom and Myth*, refers to mouse tribes, mouse place-names, and the habit of keeping sacred mice in Anatolia, and to " mouse feasts " at Rhodes, Gela, Lesbos, and Crete. There were, according to Watson, " mouse lords " (supernatural monsters) in ancient Ireland, and there is a standing stone in Perthshire which is still known in Gaelic as " Stone of my little (or sacred) mouse ". The writer has personal knowledge of the Highland custom of giving the liver of a mouse to children *in extremis*. The belief that the liver was the seat of life is as Gaelic as it is Babylonian. Translations of ancient Gaelic stories which refer to warriors being " wounded in the vitals " is of interest in this connexion, because in the originals the warriors are " wounded in the liver ".

Although we find mythological and folk-lore links between

Scotland and Ireland, there were undoubtedly sharp differences between the two countries. The pantheon of the Irish *Tuatha Dé Danann* (Tribe of the goddess Danu or Anu) was not imported into Scotland. It appears to have been formed in Ireland of gods imported from Gaul and of deified local heroes. These Irish gods engage in conflict with the Fomorians, who figure as evil deities or demons. In Scotland there is no trace of such a war. The Scottish Fomorians are giants or giant gods. As such they are mainly connected with hill forts or " watch hills ", which afford wide views of the surrounding country and were consequently of value to military aristocrats because of their strategic importance. The hill giants were supposed to throw boulders at one another, and there are many folk-stories regarding their achievements in this connexion. In the course of time these Fomorians acquired secondary names. Thus the giant of the Eildon hills became known as " Wallace "; the giant of Norman's Law in Fife was in Christian times called " the devil ", and the stone he flung against the giant of Law Hill, Dundee, is still known as the " deil stane ". The giant of Ben Ledi, reputed to be the strongest of his kind in Scotland, was by early Christians called " Samson ", and his " putting stone " is still pointed out as one of the " sights " for visitors to Callander. One of the three giants in Inverness became known as " Patrick ". Edinburgh had its giant with three heads, and he appears to have acquired the name of Arthur of " Arthur's Seat " after the Arthurian romances became popular at the Scottish court about the fifteenth century. This " Arthur " place-name has been productive of some fantastic theories regarding King Arthur as an historical personage. These have been much favoured by writers unfamiliar with the widespread giant-lore of Scotland.

Some Fomorians were horned like Cernunnos. In Irish mythology the Fomorians are connected with the Fir Domnann (Dumnonii). De Jubainville points out in this connexion that the chief of the Fomorians is often called the " god of Domna ". Indech, one of the chiefs of the Fomorians, is *Mac Dé Domnann* (" son of the god " or " goddess Domnu "). Watson has shown that the Western Isles were reputed to be the haunt of a people known as the Fomorians. They were pirates who ravaged the coasts of Ireland and laid the people under tribute. There is an Irish reference to the Fomorians of the Fir Falga, a people in the Western Isles. It is thus possible that the hill gods of Scotland were called after the Hebridean Fomorians long before they acquired the names of later heroes of history, romance, &c. Watson deals with the *Fir Domnann* (" men of Domnu ") problem in his *History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (p. 42).

The mother of all the giant gods was the one-eyed Cailleach, whose name, like that of the Egyptian goddess Isis, means " old wife ". In early Christian times a nun was called a Cailleach. This goddess had " one eye on the flat of her forehead ", but " the sight of it was swifter than the mackerel of the ocean ". Her face was " blue black ", and she carried a " hammer " with which she smote the earth, thus causing hard frost to prevail. She was the ruler of winter, the period of " the little sun ", and when that period came to an end she was attacked by the lover of a fair maiden she had kept captive and transformed herself into " a grey stone looking over the sea ", which " was always moist ". During the winter she was followed, like Artemis, by herds of wild animals, one of which was the boar that caused the death of Diarmaid, the Scottish Attis. Highland gamekeepers used to believe, when stalking opera-

tions yielded poor results, that the Cailleach was protecting the deer by means of her spells.

There is much surviving folk-lore connected with wishing and curative wells and lochs, mermaid-haunted rivers and arms of the sea, " wishing wells " to which rags are attached, caves inhabited by demons, standing stones and rocks still connected with superstitious ideas and stories.

A belief which may go back to the megalithic epoch is that a man's soul might be hidden in a stone. An old story of a Pictish hero tells that a small stone containing his soul was kept by a woman. In a Hebridean folk-tale a giant's soul is concealed in the " bannock stone "—that is, the round stone, placed before a fire, on which oatmeal and barley-meal bannocks were baked. Souls might also be hidden in birds, or in an egg, or in a salmon, or even as a thorn in a very thorny bush.

Soul forms include birds, butterflies, moths, and bees. The butterfly is in Gaelic *dealbhan-dé* (" image of God "), and *eunan-dé* (" small bird of God "). In Arran the bee is connected with the Mackenzie clan. To dream of bees is to dream of Mackenzies. The Delta people of ancient Egypt were the " Bees ", but it does not follow that the " sons of the fair people " (for that is what the Mackenzie surname means) had any direct connexion with Egypt.

Certain stones were used for raising wind, others for curing disease or working charms. Divination stones were common. Some Highland chiefs had small pebbles or stones as big as kidneys which were handed down from father to son in proof of their right of succession.

In all parts of Scotland are folk-stories about the fairies. These, as a rule, were diminutive beings—about three feet high—who dwelt under round grassy knolls, in hillocks, inside cliffs, and on the summits of high mountains. They

were mainly female like the nereids of ancient Greece, and like these supernatural beings travelled on whirlwinds. In the stories they always come from the west, while the giants invariably come from the north. Human beings were lured away by the fairies and became " fairy men ". The Queen of the Fairies fell in love with Thomas the Rhymer, who dwelt with her in Fairyland for seven years and received the gift of prophecy. The fairies were " let loose " at each quarter and had special liberties each Friday. There are stories which tell that the souls of the dead dwell in Fairyland, where they engage in reaping corn and plucking fruit like the souls in the ancient Egyptian Paradise of Osiris, which was situated under the ground. Visitors to Fairyland may dwell there for a night or a few days and nights, but on returning to their homes find that many years have gone past. The " supernatural lapse of time " is a feature of our fairy-stories.

Other beings classed as " fairies " are the " green women ", either ghosts of human beings or magic-working " water wives " who drown travellers at fords. The banshee who sings or wails to foretell tragic happenings is a fairy. The Aurora Borealis (in Gaelic the " Nimble Men ") are in some areas regarded as fairies, as are also some sea-beings who assume the forms of seals and human beings at will. The cuckoo is a " fairy bird " which is supposed to dwell in Fairyland all winter. There are " fairy dogs ", " fairy mice ", &c. Scottish fairy-lore still awaits thorough investigation.

Reference has been made to the Gaulish custom of depositing gold and silver in sacred lakes. At Inverness a well is still visited on the first Sunday in May by large numbers of people who drop coins into it. The collection thus obtained is handed over to the Royal Infirmary, Inverness. " Pin-wells " and " penny wells " were formerly

numerous in Scotland. The memory of a " penny well " is perpetuated in Edinburgh on an inscribed granite slab of a wall drinking-fountain in one of its streets. It was perhaps due to Celtic influence in Iceland that coins are still thrown into a slow stream " for luck ".

The pagan Druids were in ancient Scotland supplanted by the early Christian teachers, some of whom, indeed, appear to have acquired in folk memory the attributes of pagan gods. That the Druids were held in high esteem is shown by the Gaelic poem ascribed to St. Columba in which he declares:

" Christ, the Son of God, is my Druid."

St. Columba thus rejects the mediation of Druids and their ritual and relies on the mediation of Christ and the sign of the cross. Neither the Germans nor the Iberians had Druids. These priests appear to have become a force in Celtic society after the Celts had founded a colony in Asia Minor, and it is significant in this connexion to find Pliny comparing them to the magi of Persia. A Druid's holy place was referred to as a *nemed* or *nemet*. The adjective *nemetos* signified " sacred ". According to MacNeill, " a sacred place was called *nemed*, and a sacred person was also called *nemed*. The old (Irish) law tract which deals with the privileges and rights of the poets is entitled *Bretha Nemed*, i.e. ' decisions regarding sacred persons '." Watson shows that the Celts who settled in Asia Minor about 280 B.C. established a central council of judges which met at a place called Drunemeton, which was the " chief sacred place ". In Gaul there was a *nemeton* for the goddess Belisama, and when Augustus was deified an " Augusto-nemeton " was founded. In Brittany there was " silva quae vocatur Nemet " (" the wood which is called Nemet "). But all nemets

were not groves. As the *nemet* was a place in which judges met, it may have been a mound, a stone circle, or other collection of megaliths, or may have been marked by a single stone. As we have seen, courts were held at stone circles in Scotland in historic times.

In Ireland one of the early names for Christian churches was *nemed*. Watson gives many instances of the occurrence of *nemed* among the place-names of Scotland in the aspirated forms of " nevy " ," nevity ", " navity ", &c. The pagan *nemet* lands became church lands in various areas. At Cromarty it was believed that the Last Judgment would be held at Navity, and this belief is enshrined on a gravestone outside St. Regulus' churchyard. The man, one Alexander Wood, whose dust lies beneath it had a stutter, and he hoped to arrive at Navity to relate his grievance before the man who had wronged him could climb over the churchyard wall.

An instance of a saint supplanting a god is afforded by St. Mælrubha (St. Mourie), whose name clings to Loch Maree in the county of Ross and Cromarty. As late as the seventeenth century, as the minutes of Dingwall Presbytery testify, bulls were sacrificed to the saint on 15th August, and oblations of milk were poured upon the hills, while sacred stones, sacred wells, &c., were connected with superstitious practices.

There is much pagan lore connected with St. Kentigern (St. Mungo), the patron saint of Glasgow, who may or may not have existed in the flesh. His mother was the daughter of a king connected with Traprain Law, which, as the archæological evidence testifies, was evacuated in the fourth century A.D. He was supposed to have been instructed at Culross in Fife by St. Servanus, who, however, lived about a couple of centuries after his time. Kentigern

was led to Glasgow by two wild bulls yoked to a cart, and he rendered fertile in Glasgow a barren patch of land by yoking to the plough a wolf and a stag—the cult animals of the god Cernunnos on the Gundestrup cauldron. In Wales he selected as the site of a monastery a spot where a wild boar he had followed dug up the earth with its tusks. These and other incidents in his Life by Joceline, smack of sheer Paganism. He is alleged to have known St. Columba and St. Asaph, but in the *Lives* of the saints no mention is made of a St. Kentigern or a St. Mungo.

St. Servanus had, in folk memory, some connexion with the cult of the apple tree. He is reported to have flung his pastoral staff across the Firth of Forth. It stuck in the earth, rooted, and became an apple tree. When Cuchulainn visited Scotland to attend the military college at Skye, he found his way across the mysterious " Plain of Ill-luck " by rolling a wheel and throwing in front of him an apple which he followed. Avalon, the Celtic pagan Paradise, was an " apple land ", as its name signifies.

Another sacred tree was the hazel. A hazel-grove is in Gaelic *calltuinn*, and there are " Caltons " in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Edinburgh's Calton Hill was supposed to be inhabited by fairies who were visited by a musical boy known in folk-tales as " the fairy boy of Leith ". The nuts of the hazel were, like apples, eaten by gods and ghosts in the Otherworld. Another longevity fruit was the rowan berry. The rowan tree figures prominently in folk-lore as a magic-working tree. A yew cult existed on the island of Iona. Professor Watson derives " Iona " from an ancient name signifying " Yew place ", and he refers to the Irish tradition that St. Columba found Druids on Iona and expelled them (*Celtic Place-names*, pp. 88–9). There were Gaelic personal names connected with the yew cult. Eochaid,

for instance, means " Yew warrior ". It was believed that one who broke a branch of a sacred tree (yew, pine, rowan, &c.) would die soon afterwards.

Witchcraft was unknown in the ancient Highlands. The Gaelic word *buidseachd* (witchcraft) was borrowed from English. As Lord Hailes pointed out long ago, we find in the ancient history of Scotland as a whole " scarcely any vestiges of witchcraft ". There are no meetings with the devil or any broom riding in Gaelic folk-lore, a fact which betrays the influence of the imported ideas about witches. The Scottish folk-lore embedded in the accounts of our witch trials may impart some " local colour " to them, but affords no proof of the antiquity of a witch cult in Scotland. When the craze for witch finding became prevalent, the " searchers " read out certain charges which their demented and tortured victims admitted as correct, but we cannot regard the records of trials as good folk-lore evidence. In genuine folk-tales certain females figure as " wise women " who are possessed of charms and magic wands, but they are neither hated nor feared. They are invariably protectors of their kind against evil influences and especially the numerous demons of earth, air, and water. Some are healers, " blood stoppers ", and foretellers, as are also certain " wise men ". The supernatural powers were supposed to be passed down through the generations from a woman to a man and a man to a woman, usually, but not always, relatives of one another.

The seasonal deities and ceremonies indicate that the early agriculturists had a rich mythology illustrating their calendar. Winter, the period of the " little sun ", was, as we have seen, presided over by the Cailleach, who also raised the storms of spring, the names of which are still remembered. Spring began when the hibernating serpent came from its hole and the reign of Bride (Brigit) began.

The folk-lore connected with this ancient deity was attached to the memory of St. Bridget of Kildare, who came to Scotland as a refugee. Beltane (May-Day) ceremonies are not yet wholly extinct, but Beltane has no connexion with a god "Baal" or "Bel"; the term means "white fires"—white being used in its magical sense. The summer ended at Hallowe'en (*Samhain*). Both summer and winter were divided into two periods, and at the end of each quarter the world was temporarily " upset ". The " flitting " of supernatural beings, including the " fairies ", involved mankind in peril from their attacks. On the evenings issuing in the new quarters glimpses of the future could be obtained, and many ceremonies, such as those associated with Hallowe'en, were performed to discover what was to happen to individuals in the near future. The Hallowe'en nut-burning and apple " dookin' " divination customs which still linger are of special significance in this connexion.

These and other relics of magico-religious myths and practices indicate that there had been " culture drifts " into Scotland in ancient times from different areas of origin and development.

The Caledonians and their allies who dared to give battle to the Romans at Mons Graupius may have had behind their lines wonder-working Druids who perpetuated religious beliefs and practices that had been imported from distant lands like the chariots in which rode their warriors, as did the heroes of Homer, when delivering impetuous attacks against the forces of the enemy.

CHAPTER X

St. Columba's Conquests

During the sixth and seventh centuries Scotland was a " melting pot " of races and cultures. To the north of the Forth and Clyde, the Picts and Scots were striving for political supremacy, but their ultimate fusion became inevitable after the dissemination throughout northern Pictland by the Columban Church of the ideals of Christian brotherhood. The relations between the Picts and the Britons appear to have been of a cordial character. Both were much concerned with regard to the establishment and growth of the pagan Anglian power in the eastern Lowlands.

Amidst the clash of peoples with conflicting interests and aspirations, and speaking different languages, certain notable figures emerge. In Pictland, which had a strong centralized government, we catch glimpses of King Brude I (Brude son of Maelchon) with his Druids, his senators, and his vassal kings. His dominions appear to have extended from the Shetlands to the Forth, and the Scots of Argyll were tributary to him. He ultimately came under the cultural and political influence of St. Columba, the most notable man of the period—a great Christian missionary and a great statesman and educationist.

The passing of King Brude I was followed by the rise of King Aidan, half Scot, half Briton, who reigned over the

Dalriadic Kingdom of Argyll but also played a prominent part in the political life of both Pictland and the Kingdom of Strathclyde. He was a Christian and a close friend of St. Columba, and he rendered patriotic service in the interests of Celtic unity in Scotland.

When Aidan had become an old man, a great rival arose in the person of Ethelfrid, the Anglian ruler of Bernicia and Deira, which together formed the united nation we know as Northumbria, and Ethelfrid was followed in turn by his kinsman and enemy Edwin and his own renowned sons Oswald and Oswy.

The Angles were not only the political rivals in Scotland of the Picts and Scots and Britons, but the champions of paganism. In Oswald's time, however, Anglian paganism received its death-blow. Ethelfrid's son had come under the cultural influence of the Columban mission, and he introduced Gaelic missionaries and scholars into his kingdom. Thus in Northumbria, as in northern Pictland, a spiritual and cultural conquest was achieved by Iona. Scotland became definitely a Christian country under Columban guidance.

The Celtic kings and warriors, whose political interests were Scottish in the modern sense of the term, perpetuated the principles and the spirit which had animated Galgacus and his successors in their conflicts with the Romans. Their national consciousness, manifested by the existence of the large Kingdom of Pictland, which was ultimately united with the Scottish Dalriada and was to absorb British Strathclyde and Galloway, became intensified during the long and persistent struggle with the Angles, who were ultimately completely subdued. It was not, however, the politicians who left the deepest cultural impress in our native land, but the pious teachers and ardent scholars of

the Celtic Church, whose wonderful sculptured stones, illuminated manuscripts, and sacred and secular poems bear such eloquent tribute to their refinement of thought and feeling. Amidst the trumpeting of hosts and the thunder of war in Lowland valleys and Highland glens, theirs was the still small voice which was ultimately to prevail.

St. Columba migrated from Ireland to Argyll, accompanied by his disciples, in A.D. 563, thirty-four years before St. Augustine began his mission in Kent, and about a century and a quarter after St. Ninian had been laid to rest in the church of Whithorn in old Galloway. Dalriada was at the time nominally Christian and northern Pictland wholly pagan. There appear, however, to have been Christian communities in southern Pictland as well as in the eastern and western Lowlands. Whithorn priory continued to flourish, and inscribed stones found at Kirkmadrine in the Rhinns of Galloway indicate that bishops resided there. The St. Kentigern (St. Mungo) traditions are so vague and so confused with pagan myths as to be of slight historical value. It is uncertain whether they refer to one saint who was a contemporary of St. Columba, or to two saints who lived before or after his time. It is possible, however, that a Christian mission founded by St. Ninian continued to exist at Glasgow, and that in the story of St. Kentigern's flight to Wales to escape the persecution of a pagan king, and his return at the request of a new king who was a Christian, there are genuine historical memories. No doubt there were in sixth-century southern Scotland apostates and backsliders and not a few communities which were half pagan and half Christian.

St. Columba appears to have resided for a time at the court of Conall, the Scoto-Irish king in Argyll, before deciding definitely to settle on the island of Iona. The

Dalriadic Scots had a few years previously been heavily defeated by King Brude I, who compelled them to recognize him as their overlord. King Conall granted Iona to St. Columba, but his gift had to be confirmed by King Brude I, as is plainly indicated in the preface to the hymn *Altus Prositor*, which, as a matter of fact, makes the Pictish king the donor.

King Brude, as has been indicated, was a pagan. His chief Druid, who bore the British name of Broichan, is referred to as his tutor, pastor, or guardian (*nutricius*). Brude was certainly not a minor, and it is evident, therefore, that Broichan's political status was a high and influential one. The Druids, as we know, were political dictators among the Celts of the Continent. That they suffered no loss of prestige among the Celts who settled in the British Isles is made manifest by the available Irish evidence. We gather from the Gaelic epic the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (" The Cattle Raid of Coolney ") what exactly is meant by a Druidical " tutor " or " dictator ". A significant passage states that " it was *geis* (taboo) for the Ulstermen to speak before their king ", and " it was *geis* for the king to speak before his three Druids ". In other words, a commoner could not speak to a king until the king happened to speak to him, and a king dared not speak to a Druid until the Druid first chose to address him.

The Celtic Druids of Pictland and Ireland were in St. Columba's time not only politically influential but revered as intercessors who propitiated the gods on behalf of mankind.

Soon after St. Columba reached Scotland, he paid a visit to the Pictish court at Inverness. The fact that he was a man of royal blood probably helped him greatly in his dealings with King Brude. As is well known, the old Celtic aristocracy was a most exclusive one, and the privileges of rank were given ready recognition even between rivals.

Withal, St. Columba was a Christian Druid, and it was therefore not *geis* for him to address a king.

We gather, from Adamnan's *Life of Columba* and from other sources, that attempts were made by Broichan, the Druid, and Maelcu, the king's son, who may also have been a Druid, to prevent St. Columba entering King Brude's stronghold. St. Columba overcame their opposition, however, and ultimately acquired so great an influence over the Pictish king that he prevailed upon him to be baptized.

The conversion of King Brude must have caused a revolution in Pictish political life. It certainly brought to an end the dictatorship of the Druids at the royal court. We hear no more of Broichan and his enchantments, but it is unlikely that he and his fellows yielded without a struggle. The disturbances in Pictland, which followed upon the death of King Brude and brought King Aidan into prominence, may well have had some connexion with the Druids.

We know little of the Pictish system of government. It appears, however, to have been effective in keeping the peace and in resisting foreign aggression. Inverness was the centre of administration. There in a stronghold, as we gather from Adamnan, King Brude I sat with his senators (*cum senatu*)—a king of the ancient Homeric type. Certain areas of Pictland were controlled by petty kings who occasionally visited the court at Inverness and whose hostages lived there. St. Columba met the ruler of the Orkneys during one of his visits to the stronghold of King Brude. King Aidan and his father Gabran were not only rulers of Dalriada, but also of an area in south-eastern Pictland, including Angus and the Mearns. It is not quite certain why King Brude waged war against Gabran, but possibly the Pictish claim to the overlordship of the Scottish Dalriada

was the question at issue. Brude could not have Gabran as a vassal in a part of Pictland and an independent ruler in Argyll. It may be that the Pictish king's victory, which definitely settled the status of Gabran as king of a vassal state, was one of the causes which led to the dispute involving the relations between the Scottish and Irish Dalriadas in which St. Columba intervened as a pioneer in the cause of arbitration as a preventative of war.

When St. Columba was on one of his visits to Inverness, and met at the court there the vassal king of the Orkneys, he asked King Brude that Cormac should be accorded protection when he carried out his intention to sojourn in the Orkneys. Brude granted this favour and instructed the Orkney ruler accordingly. Adamnan tells us that Cormac was thus " saved from imminent death ".

At the time the Pictish pirates of the Orkneys and the Hebrides were as great enemies and plunderers of Christian communities as the Norse pirates proved to be in the later Viking Age. We find St. Columba, for instance, warning St. Donnan against settling on the island of Eigg lest he and his followers should suffer " red martyrdom ". St. Donnan refused to abandon his purpose, and ultimately founded on Eigg a monastic settlement consisting of over fifty persons.

According to the narratives that have come down to us, a queen grazed her sheep on the island of Eigg and was so enraged by the action of the Irish Christians, whom she regarded as " land raiders ", that she instigated a band of pirates to attack them.

" There came pirates of the sea to the island," states one of the records, " and slew them all." The martyrdom of St. Donnan is dated A.D. 617, and his grave is still pointed out in Eigg.

According to Watson, Comgall's monastery on Tiree was raided by Pictish pirates, " but the saint contrived to overawe them so far that they abandoned their booty ". In A.D. 617 Tory Island, off the north coast of Ireland, was devastated by a " marine fleet ". Watson also draws attention to the evidence of the Welsh *Book of Llandaf*, which " gives details of the cruelty of the Picts in course of their raids on the coasts of Wales and of their insults to the clergy ". The Pictish pirates were in the habit of cruising as far south as the estuary of the Severn.

St. Columba's political activities were all directed towards one end—to secure peace and brotherly love in the interests of the propagation of the Christian faith. Although a prince of royal blood and the friend and counsellor of kings and statesmen, he despised the Celtic caste system and was a pioneer of Christian democracy. One of his inspiring visions, according to Adamnan, was that of the soul of a humble but pious blacksmith being " carried by the holy angels to the joys of the heavenly country ". During his residence on Iona it can be said of him as Wordsworth said of Milton:

> " Thy soul was like a star, and dwelt apart . . .
> So didst thou travel on life's common way,
> In cheerful godliness; and yet thy heart
> The lowliest duties on herself did lay."

St. Columba and his disciples engaged in agricultural and milling operations, producing and preparing their own food. Gaelic tradition tells of the stalwart saint's pride in being able to shoulder a heavier sack of grain than any of his fellows. He was a lover of dumb animals, and there is a touching account in Adamnan's *Life* of his parting, shortly before his death, with the old white work-horse which

whinnied at sight of him after he had arisen from a bed of sickness. St. Columba was a wise and broad-minded instructor of youth, a friend and comforter of the poor, a helper of the needy, and he was a hater of cant and hypocrisy.

We know something of his physical aspect. In one of his poems he refers to his grey eyes, cast longingly towards his native land. Tradition gives him a long neck and tells of his habit of pondering on the sea-shore with shoulders bent and his great head carried well forward, recalling Browning's word-picture of Napoleon:

> " With neck out-thrust, you fancy how,
> Legs wide, arms locked behind,
> As if to balance the prone brow
> Oppressive with his mind."

As a statesman, St. Columba was a man in advance of his time. It was due to him, as has been indicated, that a threatened rupture in connexion with Dalriadic affairs was averted after King Conall had died and Aidan came to the throne.

King Aed of Ireland was at enmity with King Aidan. There were disputes between them with regard to tribute and military and naval service. Aidan was the hereditary king of the Irish as well as the Scottish Dalriada, and King Aed, who had no jurisdiction over the Scottish Dalriada, urged the claim that Aidan was his vassal in the Irish Dalriada.

St. Columba averted war by arranging a peace conference. This historic assembly met in A.D. 575 at Druim Ceata, which is believed to be " the mound called the Mullagh in Roe Park, near Newtonlimavady in the county Derry ". St. Columba attended the conference with King Aidan and discussed with King Aed and the others concerned all

matters in dispute regarding the territory and lordship of the Irish Dalriada. An understanding was reached and peace definitely secured. The decision " pronounced by a lawyer of celebrity and accepted by the assembly, was ", Professor MacNeill says, " in the nature of a compromise: Dalriada was to serve the Irish monarch with its land forces, and to serve the king who reigned in Scotland with its sea forces. Obviously it is the services of the Irish territory that are the subject of this judgment."

As we have seen in a previous chapter, the settlement of Scots in Argyll had been in progress for a considerable time, the intruders mingling and intermarrying with the natives. In the fifth century the Dynasty of the " Sons of Erc " was established. It began, according to one account, with the three brothers Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, who reigned in turn—Loarn for ten years, Fergus for three, and Angus for an uncertain period. It may be, however, that they ruled simultaneously in different areas. At anyrate, according to another account, Fergus was the first ruler (? High King), his kingdom extending from the " Sea of Ireland " to Druimm n-Alban (" the ridge of Scotland ") and including part of the Hebrides. He is said to have been slain by his own subjects. The next king was his son Domangart, who was succeeded in turn by his sons Comgall and Gabran.

As the subjects of the Scottish Kings of Argyll included the Britons of Kintyre and other areas, we cannot regard the Dalriadic kingdom as purely Irish. Nor were all its rulers independent of the Picts. King Conall, who succeeded King Gabran, had like him to recognize King Brude as his overlord, as had also Conall's successor, King Aidan.

King Aidan was about forty-one years of age when he began to reign over Dalriada. He had spent his youth

among the Britons, and the fact that he was a Christian is of special significance.

Aidan seems to have been a near relative of the British king Dumnagual (Donald) Hen, whose son Cinbelin is referred to in the Welsh Triads, and whose grandson Riderch Hael, King of Strathclyde, waged war against the Angles of the Lothians and is mentioned by Joceline as the ruler who induced St. Kentigern to return to Glasgow from exile in Wales. Riderch was a Christian who displaced a pagan ruler.

Watson gives evidence which seems to indicate that Aidan's mother was a daughter of a prince or vassal king named Brachan or Brychan, whose name survives in the town-name of Brechin in Angus. His father Gabran gave his name to the district of Gowrie, which is referred to as " Gafran ", " Goverine ", " Gowrane ", " Gouren ", &c., by various ancient scribes. It is apparent, therefore, that, as has been indicated, both Gabran and Aidan were rulers in eastern Scotland before becoming Kings of Dalriada. Aidan was also the " Prince of the Forth ", a fact which suggests that he had inherited a " lordship " in the Strathclyde British kingdom. His son Eochaid Buide is mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster* as a " King of the Picts "—apparently a petty king. Eochaid's son Dicuil is referred to by Tigernach as " King of the Kindred of the Picts ". Conall Cerr, son of Eochaid, is mentioned as an ancestor of " the men of Fife "—that is, the rulers of Fife. Connad Cerr, son of Conall, appears to have been King of Dalriada during the lifetime of Eochaid Buide. Evidently the rights and interests of Aidan and his son were divided between Argyll, the Forth valley, and eastern Scotland. The problem of the Scoto-Irish kingdom of Dalriada is not therefore as simple as some have assumed.

During the latter years of King Brude's reign King Aidan

rose into prominence in Pictland. In A.D. 580 he conducted a naval expedition against the Orcs, but it is uncertain whether he went as far north as the Orkneys. The Orcs referred to may well have been Pictish pirates in the Hebrides. He also invaded the Isle of Man. Apparently, as a result of the decision of the conference of Druim Ceata, which gave him the right to obtain warships from the Irish Dalriada, Aidan had become powerful at sea. He seems to have engaged himself in suppressing piracy in western waters in the interests of the Christian communities as well as the traders. Apparently, like the later King Kenneth mac Alpin, he made use of mounted forces in his land campaigns. *Berchan's Prophecy* refers to him as the " rider of the swift horse who will range Erin in one single day ". This Erin, Watson points out, must be that of the midlands of Scotland.

After King Brude died in A.D. 584, King Aidan became a still greater influence in Pictland and Strathclyde. The new Pictish king, Garnait, who outlived St. Columba by a few years, was a Christian. He was connected with the royal house of Dalriada, having apparently married the Scottish princess Verb or Ferb. Both Garnait and his successor Nechtan, son of Cano, are credited with having founded the church of Abernethy. The overlordship of the Pictish king must have therefore continued to extend southward to the Forth—that is, to the area in which Aidan was the " Prince ".

As guardian of the outposts of the Pictish kingdom, Aidan had to deal with a new and powerful enemy, the pagan Angles.

The Anglian kingdom of the Lothians, which we know as Bernicia, was rising into prominence during the sixth century. It was united with Deira by Ida, king of that state (A.D. 547–559), but after his death the two kingdoms

had for about thirty years separate rulers. From A.D. 581 till 588 King Hussa was sole king of Bernicia, but from A.D. 588 till 605 he was the vassal of the King of Deira. Hussa was the Anglian king who waged war against four kings of the Britons, one being Riderch Hael, King of Strathclyde, who, as we have seen, is referred to in Joceline's *Life of St. Kentigern.*

About 591 King Aidan fought the battle of Leithrig or Leithreid (pronounced *lerry*), but we cannot locate it or tell who his opponents were.

Sometime later Aidan waged war against the Mæatæ, who are referred to in Adamnan's *Life of Columba* as the " Miathi ". It is uncertain, however, whether the Mæatæ were allies of the Angles or were in rebellion against the Pictish overlord, or had taken possession of territory claimed by Aidan. At anyrate the victory achieved appears to have been an important one for Aidan and the Christian cause.

Adamnan tells that St. Columba was at the time on Iona, and suddenly asked his attendant Diarmait to strike the bell which called the brethren to the church. When all had entered the sacred building and knelt down, St. Columba announced that they were to pray for Aidan, who in that hour was entering battle. After leaving the church, St. Columba declared that Aidan had put the barbarians to flight; but the victory was a sad one because 303 of Aidan's men had been slain.

The battle was know as that of Circenn (*Cath Chīrchind*), having been fought in the north-eastern area of Angus and the Mearns. Anderson locates it in the Howe of the Mearns, which was formerly called *Mag-circin* (" plain of Circenn "). According to *Tigernach's Annals*, Aidan was defeated and lost four sons — Bran, Domnagart, Eochaid Find, and

Arthur. Another account tells that only Bran and Domnagart were slain. Adamnan gives the names of the slain sons as Arthur and Eochaid Find.

King Aidan fought his last battle in A.D. 603, his opponent being King Ethelfrid of Northumbria. He had under his command an army of Celtic allies, consisting of Britons from Manaw on the Forth, Dalriadic Scots, and a force of Irish militia led by Mæl-umæ, a Christian and a famous warrior.

The two armies met in the vicinity of Dexastan (perhaps a boundary stone), which is supposed to have been situated near Dawstane burn at the head of Liddlesdale and not far from the modern town of Jedburgh.

Ethelfrid won a decisive victory. His brother Anfrid, however, was slain by Mæl-umæ along with many of his followers.

Aidan died about three years later, and the prestige and power of Dalriada thereafter suffered decline. He undoubtedly played a prominent part in the Scotland of his time both as a statesman and a champion of the Christian faith. He was, as we have seen, king of the Scottish and Irish Dalriadas, a ruler in Pictland and a great influence in Pictish politics, an ally of the Strathclyde Britons, and a strong enemy of the intruding Angles. Had he been victor at Dexastan, the Anglian overlords would have probably been driven out of south-eastern Scotland.

In his old age, however, Aidan was baffled and overshadowed by King Ethelfrid, the champion of paganism, to whom Bede refers as a powerful and ambitious monarch, comparing him, curiously enough, to Saul, "at one time monarch of the Israelite nation". The historian says that Ethelfrid conquered more territory from the Britons than did any other Anglian king. From some areas he expelled

the Celtic inhabitants, settling Angles in their places. Other British areas became tributary to him. The Britons of Wales and Cumbria appear to have suffered heavily at his hands.

When Ethelfrid came to the throne, his kinsman Edwin, son of Elle of Deira, found it necessary to take flight, first, according to Welsh tradition, to Mona (Anglesea), where he lived for a time at the court of the " King of the Britons ". He afterwards sought the protection of Rædwall, king of the East Angles. Ethelfrid attempted to bribe Rædwall to murder the young prince, and when Rædwall refused to do so he threatened to wage war against him.

To secure his hold on Deira, Ethelfrid had taken as his second wife the princess Acha, sister of Edwin, and by her he had two sons named Oswald and Oswy. The thought that Edwin still lived troubled him greatly, however, and at length he carried out his threat to compel Rædwall to give him up. War was proclaimed by Ethelfrid, but he was defeated and slain in the year A.D. 617.

Edwin then became King of Northumbria, and immediately, in characteristic Anglian fashion, he proceeded to persecute his relatives. His sister Acha, the widowed queen, took flight to Pictland with her two sons. Oswald was then aged twelve and Oswy four. With her went her stepsons, Anfrid and his brothers, and her stepdaughter Ebba. According to Bede, " many youths of the nobles " accompanied the royal party.

For sixteen years—that is, during the reign of King Edwin—the Anglian exiles lived " among the Scots and Picts ". Both Oswald and Oswy became accomplished speakers of the Gaelic language and were converted to Christianity along with eleven others. The princess Ebba was one of the converts. She subsequently became abbess

of Coldingham, and her name is immortalized in the place-name of St. Abb's Head, Berwickshire.

King Edwin proved himself a greater conqueror than Ethelfrid, and one, withal, more capable of following up his successes. He drove Cadwallon, the Welsh king, from his kingdom and assumed the title " King of the Britons "; and he extended his dominions to include the small kingdom whose name is perpetuated in the town-name of Leeds. We know little of Edwin's operations in Scotland. The theory that Edinburgh was named after him and means " Edwin's burgh " has been proved by Watson to be unfounded. He shows in his *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* that the Old Welsh, Old Irish, and modern Gaelic forms of the place-name, Edinburgh, could not have resulted from Edwin (Eadwine). There is no record of Edwin ever having visited Edinburgh.

Cadwallon was for a period a refugee in Ireland, whence he ultimately returned to become the ally of Penda, King of Mercia, who was a pagan and a Teuton. In 633 Edwin was defeated and slain at a place called Hethfeld by the Saxons and Meiceren by the Welsh. The spot is believed to have been Hatfield in the vicinity of Doncaster.

Cadwallon then seized York, which was besieged by a Northumbrian army under the command of Osric, son of Edwin, but in a sally made by the Britons the young king was slain. Cadwallon became powerful in Northumbria, over which he reigned for about a year.

Ethelfrid's son, Anfrid, appears to have lived in exile among the Picts. He must have married a Pictish heiress, for there came later to the throne of Pictland a king named Talorcan, son of Anfrid (Eanfrith). After Edwin was slain, Anfrid became King of Bernicia or part of it, but he was defeated and slain by Cadwallon in 634.

After reigning over Northumbria for a year, Cadwallon fell in battle near Hexham in 635. His opponent was Oswald, who must have received aid from the Scots and Picts. The Britons and the Mercians maintained their alliance against him, however, and in the end it proved fatal to him.

In Adamnan's *Life of Columba* we are told that when Oswald was waging war against a king of North Wales he dreamed one night that he saw St. Columba " in angelic form ". The saint advised him to deliver a night attack, promising him victory and a happy reign. He followed the saint's instruction, and scattered a larger army than his own. The Welsh king was slain, and Oswald was " appointed by God Emperor of all Britain ". In other words, he assumed, like Edwin, the hereditary title of the Welsh kings.

In gratitude for his victory Oswald resolved to have his subjects converted to Christianity. Bede tells that he asked the Scots to send him a bishop who would administer to him and his people " the word of faith ". Bishop Aidan was accordingly sent from Iona to effect the conquest of the Angles which his namesake had failed to accomplish with his army of allies. He preached in the Gaelic language, and King Oswald acted as interpreter.

In time the mission was attended by success, and King Oswald founded the Columban church and monastery on the tidal island of Lindisfarne (Holy Island), assigning it to Aidan.

Bede informs us that thereafter many Christian Scottish missionaries laboured among the Angles. A number of churches were erected, and the people " crowded to hear the word, rejoicing ". The Angles and their children were instructed by the Scottish monks who introduced Gaelic culture as well as Christianity into Northumberland.

The first church of Lindisfarne was built of hewn oak

and thatched with reeds, " after the manner of the Scots ". It was subsequently taken down to be replaced by a stone building. The timber was not, however, discarded, for, being regarded as sacred, it was transported to Norham, where Aidan's church was re-erected.

Oswald was not the first Christian king of Northumbria. Edwin is said to have become a Christian about six years before his death owing to the influence of his wife, a daughter of the King of Kent. Bede says he was converted by Paulinus.

Edwin's friends King Rædwall of East Anglia and his son and successor Eorpwald also became Christians, but, according to Bede, their Christianity was a thin veneer of paganism, for in their temple they had in addition to an altar " to sacrifice to Christ " another one " to offer victims to devils (pagan deities) ".

The masses of the Northumbrians were not affected by Edwin's conversion. It was Oswald, son of Ethelfrid, the " champion of paganism ", who really became the genuine and influential Northumbrian " champion of Christianity ", owing to the direct influence of the Columban Church.

Thus in the south-eastern as well as in the northern part of the country which we now know as Scotland the greatest and most enduring cultural influence during the period dealt with in this chapter was undoubtedly St. Columba. That influence having permeated Northumbria, ultimately spread over a great part of England.

CHAPTER XI

Celts and Angles

The rise and extension of the political power of the Angles opens up the interesting question of the ethnics of Scotland, which, as some would have it, is peopled mainly by Highland " Celts " and Lowland " Anglo-Saxons ". This view is as old as William Camden, who in his *Britannia*, confusing language with race, regards the western Scots as Irish and the eastern Scots as a people " descended from the very same Germane originall that we English men are ", because, as he argues, they use " the same language with us, to wit the English-Saxon, different onely in Dialect, a most assured argument of one and the same originall ". Camden informs us that the Easterners are " of civill behaviour " and that he has " loved them alwaies as of the same bloud and stock " as the people of England.

Freeman the historian was similarly prone to love and admire the Germanic element in Scotland. In his *The Historical Geography of Europe* he says that " Scotland has won for itself a position in Britain and in Europe altogether out of proportion to its size and population ". He will not have it, however, that it owes anything in this connexion " by virtue of its strictly Scottish element "—that is, the Irish element which " first brought the Scottish name into Britain ". He contends that the Irish Scots " could never have made Scotland what it really became ", thus ignoring the great and enduring cultural influence of St. Columba,

the statesman and missionary. Nor does he make due allowance for the political influence of the Picts who " either vanished or became Scots ". All he has to say of them is that " there can be no doubt they were Celts ". Although " the union of Picts and Scots, under a Scottish dynasty, created the larger Scotland " north of the Forth and Clyde, the strength of Scotland's kings ultimately lay in the Lowlands, for " Lothian remained English ". Freeman's reading of the Scottish ethnical problem is summed up in the single pregnant sentence:

> " The truth is that, for more than five hundred years, there were two English kingdoms in Britain, each of which had a troublesome Celtic background which formed its chief difficulty."

This spirit of racial effrontery, which attributes all the virtues and achievements of Scotland to a single element in the racial blend, is unhappily not yet extinct, although it conflicts not only with ethnological data but the facts of history.

At no period did either the " Celtic " or the " Anglo-Saxon " element maintain a state of racial exclusion. The intrusion of Angles into the Lothians was a gradual process accompanied by the mixing of peoples and the mixing of cultures. Bernicia, the Anglian kingdom—or, as it should be called, the Anglo-Celtic kingdom—retained its ancient Celtic name. Rhys has shown that Bernicia is the equivalent of the old British name of the country of the Brigantes, the powerful Celtic tribe which in northern England gave so much trouble to the Romans. The Votadini of the eastern Lowlands appear, as has been indicated, to have been a northern branch of the Brigantes. The evidence afforded by the traditions connected with Cunedda indicates that the Votadini had been strongly influenced by Romano-British civilization. They did not, however, suffer loss of identity. Their

civilization, as is indicated by recent archæological finds at Traprain, was certainly of no mean order.

The earliest Anglian settlers in the Lothians were, before the Anglian conquest, either the subjects or allies of the Celtic rulers. In their own language they rendered the native name of the district as *Baernicas*, which was Latinized by Bede as *Bernecii*. The Welsh equivalent, according to Rhys, was *Brëennych* or *Brenneich*.

The kingdom of Deira to the south of Bernicia similarly retained in Anglian form its ancient Celtic name which survived in Welsh as *Deivr*. When these two states were united they formed the kingdom we know as Northumbria. Had the Angles expelled or exterminated the native Celts, the ancient names of the states which came under their sway would never have survived. No doubt there were political as well as ethnical reasons for retaining them.

A similar mixing of peoples occurred, as we have seen, in the Scottish Dalriada. The change of government there did not necessarily involve a complete racial change. Nor were the Irish Scots uninfluenced by the Pictish system of government and Pictish aspirations in connexion with the ideal of national unity. As Professor Eoin MacNeill has pointed out in his *Phases of Irish History*, each community of Celts in Ireland had " its own government ", and so in that country " no tradition of centralization ever grew up ". He adds that " the Irish system of petty states was not transplanted to Scotland ". It is evident that when King Brude I compelled the Dalriadic Scots of Argyll to recognize him as their overlord, he gave a new direction and new vision to the Scoto-Irish political aspirants who had settled in Scotland.

The Pictish racial element was not a considerable one. Like the Normans of later times, the Picts were military aristocrats who ruled over the Caledonians and other Celtic

peoples. Their subjects included also groups of non-Celtic peoples, the descendants of the Neolithic aborigines and the Bronze Age colonists. The ethnological data accumulated of recent years show that the pre-Celtic element, including the " Beaker " type, still bulks considerably in the racial blend. Even in St. Columba's time this element had not been completely Celticized. When the great missionary went travelling through Pictland, he, as Adamnan relates, held converse with some natives by means of interpreters. Adamnan does not state, however, that he required interpreters at the Pictish court in Inverness. It would appear, therefore, that there were natives who perpetuated an ancient language when King Brude I sat on the throne, just as there are in our English-speaking age native Highlanders and Islanders who perpetuate Gaelic.

The Pictish language appears to have been a Celtic one, but more closely related to Welsh and Breton than to Gaelic. St. Columba was perhaps able to speak the old British language which survived in his day not only in the Strathclyde area but in parts of Argyll. King Brude and his counsellors may well have been bilingual or trilingual. In ancient times the ruling people of Scotland were more accomplished linguists than it is necessary for their descendants nowadays to be.

The ethnics of those areas in Scotland which were controlled by the Picts, the Scots, and the Angles could not have been radically changed by intruding although masterful minorities, and especially those of the male sex. When the conquerors settled in a particular country, they invariably married native women. Pirates and other adventurers did not carry women and children in their vessels. The process of racial fusion thus begun by intermarriage might or might not be accompanied by the perpetuation of a foreign lan-

guage. In some cases the language spoken by the intruders died out, as did the language spoken by the Normans; in other cases the language of the minority of conquerors survived, as did the Anglian language in Northumbria and the Gaelic language in Argyll, both of which spread over large areas in Scotland, gradually displacing earlier tongues. Language is certainly no safe clue to racial identity, for in various parts of the world a new language has sometimes spread far beyond the area occupied by the people who introduced it. A people may survive and even constitute a majority although they suffer complete loss of language. Of interest and importance in this connexion is the view of Dr. Colignon, the French ethnologist, who says:

> "When a race is well seated in a region, fixed to the soil by agriculture, acclimatized by natural selection and sufficiently dense, it opposes, for the most precise observations confirm it, an enormous resistance to absorption by the newcomers, whoever they may be."

When, therefore, we find the Angles of Bernicia and Deira perpetuating the ancient Celtic names of these areas, the conclusion cannot be avoided that the change which occurred was not so much one of race as of government—that is, of military aristocrats.

As we have seen, the period of Anglian expansion began with King Ida in the middle of the sixth century, and the later King Ethelfrid forced certain British states to become tributary to him. There is no justification for the theory that the Celtic peoples were exterminated or completely displaced in the conquered areas.

Vivid glimpses of the life led by the Anglian military aristocrats are obtained in the early English epic *Beowulf*. King Hrothgar, as we find, resides with his warriors in the great hall Heorot. They are all heavy drinkers and eaters.

Military service is paid for by gifts of money-rings, horses, and loot; sometimes a king like Hygelac rewards a helpful military aristocrat by giving a daughter in marriage to him. An adventurer like the hero, Beowulf, accompanied by his warrior band, crosses the sea to join Hrothgar's force, as, no doubt, did many others during the Anglian period. But Anglian allies, and especially those with blood ties, cannot, as the epic reveals, be depended upon to remain faithful. The *Beowulf* poet foretells, for instance, that the great hall will be destroyed by fire in consequence of a deadly quarrel between a father-in-law and a son-in-law. The Anglian military aristocrats were much given to family disputes, as has, indeed, been already indicated by Ethelfrid's endeavours to murder his kinsman and rival Edwin, and the flight of Ethelfrid's widow and children to escape death at Edwin's hands. When Beowulf, the hero of the epic, delivers his death oration, he is comforted to think that the " Ruler of Men " will never charge him with swearing false oaths, picking treacherous quarrels, or murdering his relations. The Anglian ethical standard was manifestly not a high one. When warriors were seized with " battle fury " they might, as Ongentheow threatens in the epic, execute prisoners of war, while a fierce queen like Thryth might, because of an imaginary insult, have courtiers assassinated. Other women were, however, peace-makers and diplomatists who conciliated rivals and rewarded allies by carrying round ale cups at feasts. There is no indication in *Beowulf* of any superior Anglian capacity for governing wisely and well either a free or a servile people. Indeed, at best, the Angles of the poem are little better than brigands. It was from the native people they subdued in battle that they received their political education. When Edwin assumed the title " King of Britain ", the acquired conception of a united

country under centralized control was beginning to enlarge the political vision of the descendants of the intruding adventurers. The full civilizing influence of Christianity came later. As the Gaelic missionaries of Iona introduced a knowledge of letters and a love of learning into Pictland, so did they, as Bede indicates, into Northumbria. " We have not yet perhaps ", wrote the late Professor Mackinnon of the University of Edinburgh, " fully realized the part which the school of Iona had in shaping the destinies of the Scottish nation." Nor have we fully realized the services they rendered to Northumbria and, indeed, to the greater part of England.

The ideal of national education in our native land begins with the Gaelic Church, whose monasteries were the earliest universities and whose mission stations were the forerunners of the public schools. Nor was the influence of the Columban Church confined to Scotland and England. Continental scholars have acknowledged freely the cultural debt that France, Belgium, and Germany owed during the darkest period of their history to the Gaelic missionaries and scholars from Ireland and Scotland who kept burning bright, amidst the tempests of war, the light of learning and literature. St. Columba, the lover of books and industrious scribe, fostered in Iona the study of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin as well as Gaelic. He composed poems in Latin and Gaelic, and he was a patron of the arts. He proved himself a true prophet when he wrote of Iona:

" Small and mean though this place is, yet it shall be held in great and unusual honour, not only by Scotic kings and people, but also by the rulers of foreign and barbarous nations and by their subjects; the saints also even of other Churches shall regard it with no common reverence."

Those who nowadays choose to ignore the Celtic cultural influence in post-Roman Britain take a myopic view of

history which is neither exemplary nor just. It was not the battle lord alone who played a prominent part in shaping the destiny of our native land. The permanence of a state depends mainly upon the cultural bonds which unite all classes in loyalty to a common ideal. In this connexion we must frankly recognize that the discipline of Christianity is in our history found to be more deeply rooted than the discipline of secular law or military organizations. It is a discipline which has permeated every sphere of human activity, revealing itself in the love of " fair play " in sport as well as in public and private life. Government by consent, which is more effective and permanent than government by force, has been made possible by the recognition of those ideals of right conduct and right thinking which we owe in such large measure to the early missionaries who lived the lives of saints and scholars and proved the pen to be mightier than the sword.

The widespread influence exercised by the early Gaelic Christian missionaries was due in no small measure to their policy of developing native institutions upon Christian lines, and imparting a Christian significance to pagan art and pagan literature.

The Celtic Church was opposed to war and dreamed of the ultimate brotherhood of man under the banner of the Cross. In Ireland St. Patrick condemned raids by land and sea, and it is a remarkable fact, as Professor MacNeill has shown, that " after his time not a single raiding expedition goes forth from Ireland ".

St. Patrick was a patron of letters, and those Christian teachers who came after him followed in his footsteps. During the sixth century the process of blending pagan lore and literature with the new Christian learning was making considerable headway. Even the ancient school of

pagan poets was being gradually Christianized. When St. Columba attended the Conference at Druim Ceata in A.D. 575, he proved himself the patron of the bards, and he was himself one of no mean accomplishment.

The strict Sabbatarianism so long associated with Scotland had its origin in the Celtic Church. This has been abundantly proved by the Rev. Dr. Donald Maclean in his *The Law of the Lord's Day in the Celtic Church*. He has made an interesting study of the Gaelic manuscript *Cáin Domnaig* ("Law of the Lord's Day"), which in its present literary form dates back to the beginning of the ninth century but, as is shown, was compiled from earlier documents known to St. Columba.

Dr. Maclean points out that "the Eastern Church observed the day (Sunday) more strictly than the Western", and emphasizes that this is "a fact of importance in view of the intimate relation of the Celtic Church with the Eastern Church through Massila (Marseilles) and Gaul". As early as A.D. 305 "the Council of Illiberis in Spain made the observance of the Lord's Day compulsory, punishing delinquents with excommunication".

The *Cáin*, as it survives, is undoubtedly of native origin. It is as much a product of Celto-Scottish religious thought as is the "Westminster Confession" of Anglo-Scottish religious thought in later times. Of special interest is the fact that "it is", as Dr. Maclean writes, "the apostolate and not the primacy of Peter that is recognized . . . in the *Cáin*, and that Patrick and not the Pope is the acknowledged vice-regent of God". The *Cáin* must therefore, he considers, be older than the Synod of Whitby, which was held in A.D. 664.

Domnach, "the Lord's Day", begins, according to the *Cáin*, at vespers on Saturday and continues until matins

on Monday. This long Sunday was, until late in the nineteenth century, still observed in parts of the Highland area. The *Cáin* forbids during Sunday journeying, selling, bargaining, corn-grinding, baking, cutting wood, house cleaning, and all forms of labour. It even insists that it is sinful to shave or crop hair, to wash or to bathe, to walk except to a place of worship, and to engage in " aimless running ". It is, however, permitted to go for a physician, to extinguish a house fire, to provide food for guests, to finish a journey, to pursue thieves and other lawbreakers, " to go to a cry of distress ", to rescue cattle from hounds or a quagmire, to go after a swarm of bees, to obtain a nurse for a woman in travail, to protect farm lands by expelling stray animals, &c. Fines were imposed for transgressions of " the Law of the Lord's Day ". Although in the Middle Ages the Scottish clergy and laity may have lapsed from the ideals of the *Cáin*, the Celtic Church remained, as Dr. Maclean puts it, " theoretically strictly Sabbatarian ". But the common people did not wholly forget the Columban " Lord's Day ". The late Dr. Carmichael, the folk-lore collector, has recorded from the recital of a crofter's daughter in South Uist, a beautiful folk-poem in which the substance of the *Cáin* was perpetuated till the nineteenth century. A short extract of the excellent Carmichael translation in *Carmina Gadelica* may be given:

" Whosoever would keep the Lord's Day,
Even would it be to him and lasting,
From setting of sun on Saturday
Till rising of sun on Monday.
He would obtain recompense therefrom,
Produce after the ploughs,
Fish on the pure salt-water stream,
Fish excelling in every river confluence."

The prohibitions are given in detail, and these were strictly observed.

During the sixth, seventh, and eight centuries the Celtic Church, which became so powerful in Ireland and Scotland, exercised a cultural influence in the British Isles and over wide areas on the Continent that proved to be of permanent character. As has been indicated, that fact has not been fully emphasized by historians, who have concerned themselves mainly with wars and conquests and the rise and fall of aggressive dynasties. The Celtic area had its Golden Age, as had Greece before the Dorian invasion. The " Dorians " who inaugurated a Dark Age in our native land were the pagan Norsemen and Danes of the Viking Age—the plunderers of churches and monasteries, the enemies of learning, the professional pirates who rendered the seas unsafe for commerce and terrorized the coasts with their raids and forays.

In Scotland " Anglo-Saxon " influence was during the period between the St. Columba Age and the Viking Age mainly a political one. Military aristocrats were extending their spheres of influence, but the masses of the people were, as has been indicated, of the ancient stock. The spread of Christianity and the " new humanism " was the work of the Celtic Church, which had revivified the Christian communities dating from the time of St. Ninian and his successors. Withal, the Columban missionaries were not only preachers of " the Word " but pioneers of education. In the eighth century we find a Pictish king issuing written edicts which were read by his officers throughout his domains. The Celtic missionaries who became so influential in Northumbria similarly stimulated a love of learning and encouraged young scholars to collect their native folk-songs and heroic tales. We owe it to monastic influence

that *Beowulf* was preserved in the revised form in which it has survived, the Celtic Christian settlers in Northumbria having perpetuated the Columban literary traditions. Bede, the "Father of English Historians", was of Celtic descent. The fact that another Bede is mentioned in the Aberdeenshire *Book of Deer* suggests that he may have been a representative of an old Pictish family. Caedmon's name is also Celtic.

CHAPTER XII

The Anglian Overlordship

The high tide of Anglian expansion was reached in Scotland by the middle of the seventh century. It then seemed for a time as if Pictland was to suffer extinction as an independent state and that its fate would be shared by Dalriada and Strathclyde, whose continued existence, as subsequent events made manifest, depended upon that of the great northern state.

The conclusion cannot be avoided, for it is supported by all the evidence available, that Pictland resisted foreign intrusion because of the strength and depth of its national sentiment. Its inhabitants had long been profoundly conscious of their individuality as a people. Indeed, we find that in Pictland, known earlier as Caledonia and later extended into the larger Scotland, there had been fostered from Roman times and kept green by persisting and inspiring traditions, a similar unifying love of country and a similar attachment to the ideals of liberty and independence that made possible the glory of another small but famous and influential land of which a modern poet has sung:

> "Greece and her foundations are
> Built beneath the tide of war,
> Throned on the crystálline sea
> Of thought and its eternity."

As Greece was not crushed but rejuvenated in its conflict with Persia, so fared it with Pictland during its seventh-century struggle with Northumbria, from which it emerged with renewed strength and vigour.

When in 603 King Ethelfrid defeated the allied army under the command of King Aidan, he laid open the central and western Lowlands for Anglian expansion. But much more territory was acquired by his ambitious sons Oswald and Oswy than he himself ever dreamed of occupying, for they extended their sway over considerable parts of Strathclyde, Dalriada, and Pictland.

A comparatively brief experience of Anglian rule and aggressive tactics stirred Pictland to its depths. The smouldering hostility which was being constantly engendered ultimately became intensified by religious feeling, the supremacy of the Columban Church being threatened. Then arose a strong and heroic national leader in the person of Brude III (the son of Bile), who proved to be the Bruce of his time, for after a period of severe trial and serious reverses he won his " Bannockburn " at Nechtansmere, completing the liberation of Pictland and forcing the Angles to withdraw from Dalriada and Strathclyde. Then, as we shall see, Northumbria came under the sway of a king who was half Irish by descent, had received a Gaelic education, and was strongly attached to the Columban Church.

King Oswald, who won back the kingdom of his father Ethelfrid during the critical struggle which followed upon the death of Edwin, reigned for only about eight years (634–642), but, according to Bede, his dominions were much larger than those of any of his ancestors.

Edwin, as we have seen, had made conquests in northern and western England which caused him to wrest from the Cymric royal house the historic title *rex Brettonum*. Although

he fell in battle against the combined forces of Penda, the Anglian King of Mercia, and Cadwalla, King of the Cymry, Oswald, after defeating the latter, appears to have recovered some of the western territory which had been temporarily lost. Oswald also extended his sway over considerable areas in Scotland. Bede informs us that he had under his domain " all the nations and provinces of Britain which are divided into four languages—the languages of the Britons, the Picts, the Scots and the Angles ". He has much to say, withal, of the fine character of Oswald, who, although so very powerful, was distinguished for his humility, his generosity, and his great piety.

Early in his reign Oswald united the provinces of Bernicia and Deira, which, according to Bede, ever inclined to be at variance. The Deira of his predecessors extended from the Humber to the upper reaches of the Tyne, and the Bernicia from the Tyne to the Firth of Forth. To what extent Oswald extended this Bernicia towards the north and west must remain uncertain. Its boundaries were ever inclined to fluctuate. He appears, however, to have taken over and retained for a time that area which King Aidan had controlled as " Prince of the Forth " and to have therefore become a force in Pictish and Dalriadic politics. As a faithful adherent of the Columban Church, he was undoubtedly in great favour with the influential clergy of Iona.

Affairs in Dalriada had during Oswald's reign fallen into a somewhat confused state. Its king, Donald Brecc, grandson of King Aidan, incurred the displeasure of Iona by the part he elected to play in Irish politics. Before coming to the throne he had helped Conall, Suibne's son, to win the battle of Cend-Delgthen against a member of the royal Irish house of which St. Columba had been so notable a

representative. Adamnan tells in his *Life* of the saint of Columba having warned King Aidan that if his sons, grandsons, or descendants waged war in Ireland, they would meet with certain disaster.

Not long after King Oswald began to reign, a revolt occurred in the Scottish Dalriada, and Donald Brecc suffered defeat. King Ferchar, son of Connand Cerr, of the royal house of Cowal, then ruled over part of Argyll.

A few years later (*c.* 639) we find Donald Brecc again waging war in Ireland. He had had as a guest at his court his relative Congal Cloen, son of Scandlan, a prince who had been banished from the north-east of Ulster. This refugee prevailed upon King Donald to help him to recover his lost territory and position, and Donald raised an army of Scots and Britons which he transported to the Green Isle to fight against another king named Donald, a son of the King Aed who had presided at the Conference of Druim Ceata and was a relative of St. Columba's. Donald Brecc and Congal were heavily defeated in the battle of Moira, near Lisburn, in which, according to Irish records, there was " a great slaughter of foreigners ". The old Irish kingdom of Dalriada thereafter sank into insignificance as a disintegrated state. The good work accomplished by St. Columba in the interests of peace, prosperity, and unity was thus undone by Aidan's impetuous grandson. According to Adamnan, Donald Brecc and his immediate descendants were subsequently " held down by strangers ".

It was about this time that King Oswald became overlord of part of the Scottish Dalriada. The Columban clergy, who were " king-makers " and " king-breakers ", probably selected him as a worthy successor to King Aidan, " Prince of the Forth " and champion of the Columban

Church. The sympathies of the Columban party were certainly with the Irish King Donald, son of Aed, and Donald Brecc was detested.

About a year after his disastrous defeat in Ireland Donald Brecc waged war in Scotland. He was defeated in a battle which Tigernach refers to as " Glend Mairison ", and the " siege of Etain " followed. If, as has been conjectured, this battle was fought in the valley of Murieston Water, about twelve miles to the west of Edinburgh, and that Etain was Edinburgh Castle rock, on which there was a *dun* (fort), Donald Brecc may have been endeavouring to recover the territory which had been possessed by his grandfather Aidan as " Prince of the Forth ", and his opponents must have been the Angles, perhaps aided by those Picts who had acknowledged Oswald as their ruler. There is not available, however, any Northumbrian record to throw light on the problem. If, on the other hand, " Glend Mairison " refers to Glen Moriston in Inverness-shire, Donald Brecc may have been invading Pictland, over which subsequently reigned in succession the two kings Garnait and Drust, the sons of either Donald Brecc or of some other Donald. But we know of no " Etain " in this area.

If Donald Brecc met with any successes, they have been left unrecorded by the churchmen. That he had not been rendered entirely powerless by his reverses is made evident by the fact that a few years after the battle in " Glend Mairison " he was involved in war against the Britons of Strathclyde. It is recorded that in 643 he was defeated and slain by Owen, King of the Britons, in the battle of Strathcarron in the Forth valley. It may well be, therefore, that the resolute struggle in which he had been engaged was really for the Princedom of the Forth. King Oswald had died in the previous year (642), and his successor Oswy

was engaged in an attempt to secure the kingship of Deira. The Strathclyde king may well have overrun the Forth valley territory when the Anglian hold upon it had been temporarily relaxed after Oswald's death, and Donald Brecc may have been making a second bid to assert his claim as Aidan's grandson and heir.

King Oswald had been slain in a battle which Nennius and the Welsh *Chronicle* refer to as Cocboy and Bede calls Maserfield. Possibly the site was Oswestry. Oswald's opponents were Penda, King of Mercia, and Cadwaladr, son of Cadwallon, King of the Cymry.

Although Penda and his British allies did their utmost to break the power of Northumbria, they reckoned without Oswy, brother of Oswald, who was to prove himself a worthy son of Ethelfrid and a worthy nephew of Edwin, both as a statesman and a general. At first, however, Oswy was forced to consent to the division of Northumbria, which his brother had reunited. His rule was confined to Bernicia, and on the throne of Deira was placed Oswin, son of Osric, a cousin of King Edwin's.

Bede writes of Oswin in terms of high appreciation. He describes him as a tall and handsome man and says he was greatly admired and beloved for his qualities of mind and body. He was a pious Christian and deeply attached to Bishop Aidan, the Gaelic missionary, who appears to have exercised a strong influence over him.

Bernicia was, however, too small a kingdom for a masterful man like Oswy. During the early part of his reign he appears to have concerned himself greatly in the affairs of Pictland, Dalriada, and Strathclyde. Like the later Edward I, he proved himself indeed a " hammer of the Scots ". He probably first established his right to succeed Oswald as " Prince of the Forth ". We know that he subsequently

reduced to servitude sections of the Britons of Strathclyde and sections of the Scots of Argyll.

Bede tells that the restless and ambitious Oswy could not live at peace with his kinsman Oswin, King of Deira. He married the sister of that ruler, but family ties and diplomatic marriages did not necessarily make for permanent peace among the Angles. Although Oswy was a professing Christian, he was as much inclined as had been his ancestors to pick treacherous quarrels and slay any relative who happened to be a political rival.

War broke out in 651 between Bernicia and Deira. When, however, Oswy invaded Deira with a large army strengthened by allies—probably Picts, Scots, and Strathclyde Britons—Oswin, as Bede tells us, perceiving that he could not contend with success against an opponent who was supported by more auxiliaries than himself, disbanded his army and retired to the country house of Earl Hunwald, accompanied by a single soldier named Tondhere. The earl, however, betrayed Oswin, and then Oswy had him and his attendant slain " in a detestable manner " by an officer named Edilwin. This assassination took place at Gilling in the North Riding of Yorkshire and is frankly and rightly characterized by Bede as a " crime ". A monastery was subsequently erected on the site of the sordid tragedy, " wherein ", says Bede, " prayers were daily offered up to God for the souls of both kings, that is, of him that had been murdered and of him that commanded him to be slain ".

The life of another rival appears to have been in peril. Oswy's nephew Ethelwald, son of Oswald, found it necessary to seek refuge in Mercia, accompanied by a force of Angles who supported him in his claim to part of his father's kingdom.

The records of the events which followed upon the murder of Oswin are somewhat meagre and obscure. It seems clear, however, that Penda and his British allies prevented Oswy from seizing the throne of Deira. Ethelwald, son of Oswald, became king instead. The fact that Oswy's son Egfrid was held as a hostage in Mercia is a sure indication that Penda had compelled Oswy to yield to his will.

For a period of about four years there was sporadic warfare between Oswy and his Anglo-British enemies. Bede says that Ethelwald, instead of assisting his uncle, sided with Penda, who was a pagan, and acted as his guide when he set out to fight against Oswy.

In the course of this war Oswy, finding himself opposed by overwhelming forces, had to take refuge in a stronghold in the Firth of Forth area which Nennius calls Iudeu. Rhys has suggested that this was either Edinburgh or Carriden.

Oswy was so hard pressed that he arranged a temporary peace by delivering up a great deal of booty obtained during his raids. Penda is said to have distributed it among the kings of the Britons who were co-operating with him, a fact which suggests that they had been the chief sufferers from Oswy's operations. Nennius refers to this incident as *Atbret Iudeu*, " the restitution of Iudeu ". Bede, on the other hand, says that Penda refused to accept the booty as the price of peace, but it may be that Penda did not regard himself bound in any way by its restitution to the rightful owners.

A great battle was subsequently fought, but it is not certain whether or not it followed immediately upon the division of Oswy's booty. The place of conflict is referred to both as Winwæd (the name of a river) and Gai's Field, and the date is 15th November, 655.

Some disagreement had been manifested in the allied army under Penda's command, and it may not have been unconnected with the diplomatic intrigues of the wily Oswy. Nennius tells that on the night before the battle a British prince named Cadavael withdrew with his entire force from the army of Penda. It is probable that Oswy had foreknowledge of this act of treachery, for he delivered a sudden attack either at early dawn or in the night-time. Penda and his allies were heavily defeated. The war lord of Mercia was himself slain, and with him fell about thirty men of royal blood, some of whom were kings. Bede informs us that one of these was Ethelhere, brother of Anna, King of the East Angles, and that he was the real instigator of the war. The same authority states that Ethelwald, son of Oswald, took no part in the conflict, but awaited the result of it " in a safe place ". He was probably disposed of later, for no more is heard of him after the year of the battle.

Oswy followed up his success, marching southward and carrying all before him. Penda was dead, the Mercians were in flight, and the Britons disorganized and demoralized. The war was concluded, according to Bede, in the country of Loidis (Leeds), and for three years thereafter Oswy governed Mercia and the peoples of other southern states.

Penda's son and heir, Peada, had previously married Oswy's daughter, and William of Malmesbury affords us a glimpse of Oswy's forceful and domineering character, which must have been similarly evinced at the Pictish court, by saying that " Oswy assumed the government (of Mercia) which seemed rightly to appertain to him from his victory over the father and from his affinity to the son ". The Mercians " could not brook his authority for more than three years ", and Peada was then declared king, but he reigned as a vassal of Oswy. It was not until after the

death of Oswy that Mercia threw off the yoke of Northumbria, but by that time it had been largely Christianized owing to the activities of the Columban clergy of Northumberland. Peada was succeeded in turn by two of his brothers, and the last became a monk of Bardsey.

The Britons who had been the faithful allies of Penda suffered much at the hands of Oswy, who extended his dominions westward to the Irish Sea and made it possible for his successor Egfrid to dispatch a naval expedition to Ireland. Rhys has expressed the view that during Oswy's reign the state of Cymry in its older and wider sense came to an end, but he overlooked the subsequent operations of Cadwalla in Kent, Wessex, Sussex, and East Anglia. Oswy overran the area we know as Cumberland (*Cumerland*, the land of the Cumbri or Cymry), which was not, however, held as was Lancashire, and he also subdued part of Galloway.

We gather from Bede that Oswy's conquests in Scotland included a considerable area of Pictland. There are no records of any battles, and it may be that Oswy, having inherited the territory acquired by Oswald as " Prince of the Forth " and champion of the Columban Church, had extended it greatly by exercise of masterful diplomacy. The Pictish king Talorcan (653–7) was a son of Anfrid by a native princess and therefore King Oswy's nephew, and he may well have consented to Oswy holding sway over Angus and the Mearns as did King Aidan and his ancestors. A man of Oswy's character may well have obtained a personal ascendancy over his royal Pictish relative as he did over his son-in-law, the King of Mercia.

A large part of the Scottish Dalriada similarly came under Oswy's rule, and the King of Strathclyde was compelled to acknowledge him as overlord.

When Talorcan, king of the Picts, died in 657, he was

succeeded in turn by two brothers, Garnait and Drust, sons of Donald. It may be, as has been suggested, that this Donald was Donald Brecc. At anyrate, Garnait and Drust were related to the royal house of Dalriada, and they appear to have been puppets in the hands of the masterful Oswy.

In 671 Oswy died, and his extensive kingdom or empire soon began to go to pieces. Civil war broke out in Pictland. King Drust was expelled from the kingdom, and there came to the throne, as leader of the national party, that able and vigorous statesman and soldier, Brude son of Bile (672–93), who was to become known as " Brude the Brave ".

Brude, as has been indicated, was a man of mixed descent. His father Bile had been King of Strathclyde, which in Oswy's time was ruled over by his other son Owen (in Gaelic *Ewen*). On his mother's side Brude was a grandson of Anfrid, son of the great Ethelfrid, father of Oswald and Oswy.

Oswy was succeeded by his son Egfrid, who early in his reign found it necessary to send his general or under-king Beornheth against the Picts.

Eddi, whose chronicle was written early in the eighth century, waxes indignant because these " bestial " and " savage " Picts refused to remain in subjection to Anglian rule, and he pictures them issuing from the holes and corners of the north like " swarms of ants ".

A Pictish army had invaded Anglian territory in the Forth valley, but it was routed by Beornheth, who had under his command a strong contingent of cavalry. The Picts were caught by this mobile force between two rivers, and the slaughter was so great that the Anglian infantry could cross the fords upon dry feet over dead bodies. According to Eddi, the immediate result of this battle was

that the Picts were once again "subjected to slavery".

Part of southern Pictland continued to remain under Anglian sway for some years, but King Brude son of Bile refused to recognize King Egfrid as his overlord. Nennius says that the Angles were unable to extract tribute from the Picts. The demands made upon Brude by his cousin Egfrid were therefore either ignored or met with open defiance. In the end Egfrid resolved to wage war against Brude although his advisers, including St. Cuthbert, whom Egfrid had made a bishop, were greatly opposed to such a course.

CHAPTER XIII

Decline of Northumbria

King Brude had been gradually consolidating his power in Pictland, and he received the support of the Columban Church, whose champion he became after the famous Council of Whitby which was held in 664. In 682 we find him dispatching a naval expedition to Orkney, which he devastated, or, as an Irish record puts it, " destroyed ", because the pagan Picts in that area had been persecuting the Gaelic hermits and missionaries. That he won security for them is certain, for, as Watson has pointed out, we find that hermits subsequently settled in the Faroes, the seas having been made safe for them. It may have been about this time that the Irish anchorites also migrated to Iceland.

The clergy of Meath prayed for Brude's success, and it is probable that owing to their sympathy and influence he received military aid from Ireland. At anyrate, the Angles were incensed by the attitude of the Ulster churchmen and, as we shall find, accorded them fierce and vengeful treatment. Brude's military operations were extended into Dalriada, where he disturbed Anglian interests.

King Oswy of Northumbria had during the latter part of his reign alienated the Columban clergy to whom he owed so much. His change of attitude was brought about by the actions of his son Alchfrid, who was under-king of Deira and had come under the influence of the Roman

Catholic party, which regarded the Columban sect as heretical and dangerous. The power behind the throne of Deira was Wilfrid, who was striving to establish Roman Catholicism throughout King Oswy's dominions and force the Columban sect to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope and abandon the usages and doctrines of Iona which did not strictly accord with those of Rome.

Wilfrid was a pious churchman of energetic, dominating, and uncompromising spirit. His actions show that he was wholly devoid of tact and of consideration for the convictions of those who failed to see eye to eye with him. As Raine puts it, " throughout his life he was far too careless of the opinions and feelings of others ". He had received his early training and education from the Columban clergy. When a boy of fourteen he entered Lindisfarne monastery, and after serving the monks for a time, he became one himself. Some years later he was converted by the Anglo-Romans, prominent among whom was a Scot named Ronan who had tried to influence Finan, Abbot of Lindisfarne, the successor of Aidan. Bede says that Wilfrid had come to realize that " the way to virtue taught by the Scots was not perfect ". In time he proceeded to Rome, and there he received instruction in the four gospels, in " the true calculation of Easter ", and " in many other things pertaining to ecclesiastical discipline which he could not attain in his own country ". He returned home a reformer, a Romanizer. According to William of Malmesbury, he " rejected the fellowship of the Columban clergy, refusing to receive consecration from the Columban bishops, or from those who had been ordained by them ". As Raine says, " the Celtic Church he regarded, not only as a mistake but as little short of a sin ", and it was his " mission and endeavour " to " destroy its influence " and to place the Church in Northumbria

" in connexion with and in dependence upon the Apostolic See ".

The Council (or Synod) of Whitby appears to have been summoned by Alchfrid, as ruler of Deira under his father, but the issues at stake were of so serious a character that King Oswy decided to attend. This Council had been convened for the specific purpose of dealing with the questions in dispute between the Roman Catholics and the Columbans. Wilfrid, the adviser of Alchfrid, was evidently resolved to strike a shattering blow against the Columban Church. Whitby, the chief monastery of Deira, was an institution which he was eager to reform. It was a mixed monastery, presided over by the Abbess Hilda, a stanch Columban, to whom the local non-diocesan bishop owed allegiance.

The Columban clergy did not observe Easter during the same period as the Roman Catholics, and they favoured the crescent-shaped forehead tonsure in preference to the Roman Catholic crown tonsure. Withal, the Columban system of ecclesiastical government was monastic, not diocesan, as is emphasized by Bede, who tells that Iona had as its ruler an abbot-priest to whom the bishops were subject and that the same system obtained on Lindisfarne, over which Iona and not Rome was supreme. The Columban tradition was certainly strongly opposed to that of Rome. It was to the authority of Columba and not that of the reigning Pope that the Scottish churchmen were faithful. Of this there can be no shadow of doubt. When, according to William of Malmesbury, Paulinus, the friend and companion of Justus, Archbishop of Canterbury, who converted King Edwin, was appointed Archbishop of York, he received the *pallium* from Pope Honorius. Paulinus was forced to take flight when Oswald came to the throne. The Columban abbots, Aidan and his successors Finan and Colman, had

no desire, we are told, to be exalted by the *pallium* or by living in a town, preferring to be " hid " in Lindisfarne island. In short, the Columbans did not recognize the Pope as head of the Church, much as they might respect him as a bishop, and they cannot therefore be regarded as Roman Catholics. The Celtic abbot held higher authority than the Celtic bishop, and the Columban non-diocesan system prevented recognition of the authority of Rome above that of Iona.

The Council of Whitby was held in the third year of the abbacy of Colman, and that unrelenting Columban championed the cause of his Church against Wilfrid, the chief spokesman of the Roman Catholic party.

Colman, according to Bede, based his argument on the authority of St. John, the doctrine of Anatolius, and the practice of Columba. On the other hand, Wilfrid cited the authority of Rome and sneered at the sanctity of Columba, characterizing as " foolish " the doctrines, traditions, and practices of the Gaelic Church which differed sharply from those of the Roman Catholic Church.

Colman asked with feeling if it was contended that " the most reverend Father Columba thought or acted contrary to Divine writings?" But Wilfrid was not impressed by that line of argument. He went so far as to suggest the Lord might, at the Day of Judgment, say of Columba and his followers " that he never knew them ". He inclined at the same time, however, to excuse Columba because of his ignorance of " the perfect rule ", but Colman and his companions he bluntly called "sinners " because the Anglo-Romans had already pointed out to them the errors of their ways. He concluded by reminding his hearers that to Peter, from whom the Roman Catholic Church derived its authority, the Lord had given " the keys of the kingdom of heaven ".

King Oswy asked Colman if he could show that any such power had been accorded to Columba, and Colman answered in the negative, but Bede does not give his full reply.

Then Oswy declared in favour of the Anglo-Roman sect, saying he would obey the decrees of the Pope, the successor of St. Peter, lest when he came to the gates of the kingdom of heaven there should be none to open them, St. Peter being his adversary. Many present thought as did Oswy, and it was resolved, as Bede tells, to " renounce the more imperfect institution (the Columban Church)" and " conform to that (the Roman Catholic Church) which they found to be better ".

Colman could not conscientiously conform, and he departed from Lindisfarne with his supporters, who included Angles as well as Scots, and he subsequently founded monasteries in Ireland.

The Columban episcopate in Northumbria thus nominally came to an end, being, in law, supplanted by the Roman Catholic. But it was no easy task for Wilfrid and his party to consolidate their Whitby victory. The Abbess Hilda continued in authority at her monastery. Tuda, a bishop of the " Southern Scots ", was made bishop of the Northumbrians. When Colman bade farewell to King Oswy, who " loved him much ", he secured the appointment of Eata, Abbot of Melrose, as Abbot of Lindisfarne. Bede says that Colman " requested and obtained this of King Oswy, because Eata was one of Aidan's twelve boys of the English nation " whom he had " instructed in Christ ". It is evident from what Bede says that Lindisfarne remained unchanged as a Columban monastery. The Northumbrian Columban clergy, outside Lindisfarne, may have adopted the Roman Catholic Easter and the tonsure approved by

Rome, but otherwise they remained faithful to the Columban Church. The conversion of King Oswy to Roman Catholicism had been but partial. He was not prepared to go as far as his son Alchfrid, with whom, indeed, he finally quarrelled. Shortly after the Council of Whitby, Alchfrid ceased to reign over Deira, and we hear no more of him. One of his last acts was the appointment of Wilfrid as Bishop of York and ruler of the diocese of Northumbria, refusing, it appears, to regard Tuda as a real convert to Roman Catholicism. Sir Henry Howorth, in his *The Golden Days of the Early English Church*, deals with the problem presented by Oswy's Whitby decision as follows:

> " He was by no means . . . prepared to throw over the cause of the Church in which he had been baptized, and to which in matters of discipline and otherwise his clergy were still very loyal, and either to exchange the primacy of his own bishop at Lindisfarne for that of an Archbishop of Canterbury whose see was in the territory of another and independent king, or for the primacy of the greater bishop beyond the seas."

King Oswy might himself find it difficult to define his position. But there can be no doubt regarding the attitude of Iona towards him. When Colman was forced to leave Lindisfarne, the Columban Church considered that it had been deserted by King Oswy, and they had fears for what would happen in his dominions in Pictland and Dalriada. They required a new royal champion, and they found one in Brude III, king of the Picts. Thus, as in aftertime Bruce was supported by the clergy of Scotland in his struggle for the liberty and independence of his native land, so was King Brude III. Both kings found the clergy a source of strength.

King Oswy died in 670 and was succeeded by his son Egfrid, who eight years later deposed Wilfrid. Theodore,

the Greek, had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 669, and he obtained Egfrid's consent to subdivide Northumbria and appoint three bishops to succeed Wilfrid. Egfrid, like his father Oswy, did not share Wilfrid's enthusiasm for the headship of the Pope. Raine refers to him as " the first defender of the national principle in the English Church " and adds, " We may call him, indeed, the first Protestant ". Wilfrid and his biographer Eddi considered they had good cause to denounce Egfrid as " a heathen and a reprobate ".

As champion of an English national Church, King Egfrid was opposed to the Gaelic Church, especially when he found that its sympathies were with King Brude, his great rival in Pictland. In 684 he dispatched a naval expedition to Ireland, apparently to punish the clergy who were taking an active interest in Brude's cause. The plain of Bregia (southern Meath) was wasted and a number of churches and monasteries plundered and destroyed. The records tell that the Angles carried off, in addition to valuable booty, sixty prisoners who must have been influential men, for they were held in Northumbria as hostages.

King Egfrid invaded Pictland early in the following summer. He appears to have crossed the Forth at Stirling without meeting opposition.

Brude the Brave commanded a well-disciplined force, which retreated before the Angles. He was a cunning and able general and tempted his enemy to advance boldly and with confidence into mountainous country in the county of Angus. When at length Brude offered battle, he seemed to have under his command a comparatively small force, but large numbers were lying in ambush.

According to Bede, the Pictish army pretended to break in flight towards the mountain defiles (of the Sidlaws) as

soon as Egfrid delivered his attack. A headlong pursuit must have followed. Then suddenly the concealed forces of the Picts sprang into sight and delivered a characteristic Highland charge on the flanks and rear of the Anglian army, winning a complete victory. King Egfrid was slain, and the main part of his army either perished with him or submitted to the Picts. Only a small remnant escaped to carry news of the overwhelming disaster to the Angles south of the Forth.

This battle is called in the records *Gueith linn Garan* (" Battle of the Pool of Garan "), " Nechtansmere " (" Mire of Nechtan "), " Stagnum Nechtan " (" Pool of Nechtan "), and " Dunnichen " (" Fort of Nechtan "). The Mire of Dunnichen was a sheet of water in swampy ground, long since drained, to the south-east of Forfar.

The Picts are said to have made " slaves " of their prisoners, but what exactly is meant by this is uncertain. It may be that the soldiers became either subjects or mercenaries, for a proportion of them may have been recruited in the Celtic areas overrun by Oswald and Oswy. The body of King Egfrid was certainly treated with respect, for it was conveyed to Iona and interred there in the cemetery of kings. The Picts were evidently neither as " bestial " nor as " savage " as Eddi would have us believe.

The victory of Nechtansmere had far-reaching effects. Brude followed it up by invading Anglian territory. According to John of Tynemouth, the fourteenth-century English historian, he conquered all Bernicia between the Forth and the Tweed. Henry of Huntingdon (twelfth century), however, says no more than that the Picts recovered their territory, part of which had been held by the Angles. The earlier Bede does not enter into intimate details, but he leaves us in no doubt that a great disaster

had occurred, for he writes dolefully of the sudden decline of Anglian power and influence. " From that time," he says, " the hopes and strength of the kingdom of the Angles commenced to ' ebb, recede and sink '." Here he quotes what Virgil (*Æneid*, II, 169) says of the Greeks after they had desecrated the Palladium of Troy and alienated the goddess Pallas on whose aid they had always depended. Egfrid was believed to have incurred divine wrath by desecrating the churches in Ireland.

We gather from Bede that, as a result of the great Pictish victory, the Scots of Dalriada recovered territory which had been held by the Angles and that the Britons (of Strathclyde) regained their liberty. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Picts were the liberators of Celtic Scotland.

The Anglian Church suffered considerable loss of prestige. Bede tells that the monastery of Abercorn had to be evacuated by Bishop Trumwin and his companions, and that they subsequently found refuge in the monastery of Whitby. There Trumwin must have come under the rule of the Abbess Hilda, the faithful Columban, and there some years later he died.

King Egfrid is represented by the early English historians as a headstrong man of overbearing character, who had been somewhat dissipated in his youth. William of Malmesbury says he was tyrannical towards suppliants but neglectful of rebels. He is sharply censured for his treatment of Wilfrid, whom he degraded in 678. Wilfrid sought redress at Rome, where his cause was considered by a synod of bishops presided over by Pope Agatho. We are informed by Bede that he was " acquitted of everything whether specified against him or not ", but when he returned to England, King Egfrid refused to receive him. Archbishop Theodore regarded Wilfrid as a thorn in his flesh. He found it im-

possible to abolish Columban usages in Northumbria and consented to permit of mixed monasteries and the marriages of the inferior clergy, contenting himself by securing certain reforms, including the consecration of bishops in accordance with the customs of the Roman Catholic Church. Before Theodore died in 690, Canterbury had been completely isolated from Northumbria.

Egfrid was succeeded by his half-brother Aldfrid, who was a supporter of the Columban Church and, as such, has suffered at the hands of Anglian chroniclers and historians. William of Malmesbury says he was a natural son of Oswy by an Irish woman named Fina. Bede is curiously vague regarding his relationship to the royal house, remarking simply that he was " said to be a son of Oswy's ". As it happens, however, we know who Fina was. In the Irish genealogies she is shown to be a descendant of the famous Niall of the Nine Hostages through Eogan, Muredach, Murchertach, Bætan, and Colman Rímid (her father). Fina was therefore a princess of the Royal Irish House. It is unlikely that her son Aldfrid was born out of wedlock. The explanation seems to be that Oswy's Irish marriage was not recognized by the Anglo-Romans of Northumbria although it may have helped the Anglian king greatly in justifying his overlordship in Dalriada, just as the marriage of his brother Anfrid with the Pictish princess helped him in securing a hold on part of Pictland. It may be, indeed, that Oswy had dreams of extending his sway over part of Ireland.

Aldfrid found it necessary during Egfrid's reign to take refuge in Ireland and Iona. He became the pupil and intimate friend of Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, and won distinction for his scholarship. Bede says he was " most learned in the Scriptures ". To the Irish he was

known as " Fland Fina " (" Fina's Fland "). We find ascribed to him a collection of wise sayings and Gaelic poetry. In one Gaelic poem of twenty-four ranns he refers to himself as " Flann Fina son of Osa (Oswy), arch-doctor in Erin's learning ". Bede's doubt about his parentage is therefore all the more remarkable.

When Egfrid was slain at Nechtansmere, the Anglian statesmen called Aldfrid to the throne. He appears to have proved himself a capable ruler, for Bede says that he restored the kingdom although within narrower limits than formerly. He reigned from 685 till 705.

The Anglian kingdom of Northumbria was not only restricted north of the Tweed by the advancing Picts, but the overlordship of Northumbria over a great part of England came to an end. Under the year 685 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, after recording the defeat and death of Egfrid " by the North Sea ", states that " about this time Cadwalla began to struggle for a kingdom ". Bede refers to him as " a daring young man of royal descent ", while William of Malmesbury says that this " youth of unbounded promise " was a grand-nephew of Ceawlin, King of Wessex. His name, however, is British, and the *Brut y Twysogion* (" Chronicles of the Princes ") refers to him as the son of Cadwallon, the ally of Penda of Mercia. His mother may have been an Anglian or Saxon princess. He raided Sussex, Bede tells, and slew its king, conquered Wessex and became its ruler. William of Malmesbury tells that he nearly depopulated the Isle of Wight, which, according to Bede, was till then (686) entirely given up to idolatry. It chanced that Wilfrid arrived on the scene, and Cadwalla gave a fourth part of the island and his booty to the Church. Kent was raided by Cadwalla and his brother Mull was killed, the cottage in which he took shelter having been set on fire. Cadwalla

went to Rome in 688 and, according to William of Malmesbury, was baptized by the Pope Sergius and called Peter. He died during his pilgrimage. Kent was subsequently governed by two rival kings. Archbishop Theodore died in 690, but two years elapsed before his successor was appointed. The revolt of the Britons had greatly weakened Anglo-Saxon power and Canterbury was cut off from Northumbria, as has been stated.

Soon after Aldfrid came to the throne of Northumbria he was visited by his friend Adamnan. The business of that old abbot was to plead for the release of the Irish captives who had been carried off by the Angles in their raid of 684, and also for the return of the valuable booty taken from the churches and monasteries. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, Adamnan's request was granted after he had performed miracles, one being concerned with the protection of his boats, which the Angles had tried to destroy. Tigernach, who tells that the captives numbered sixty, says that they were conducted back to Ireland by the Abbot of Iona.

A somewhat casual reference to this visit is made by Adamnan in his *Life of Columba*. He tells that a plague which had been sweeping across Europe reached Britain, and the only peoples who escaped infection were the Picts and the Scots of Argyll. When he and his companions visited the country of the Angles, they found that the plague was ravaging many villages, but although they went freely among the patients they all remained immune.

Aidan again visited King Aldfrid two years later, and he found that the plague was still raging. He ascribed the immunity enjoyed by the Picts and the Scots to the intercession of St. Columba, whose monasteries were so greatly honoured by these peoples. The plague, referred to in Irish

Gaelic as " the yellow disorder " because it caused men's faces to assume a yellow hue and kept them " on the stagger " for several days, appears to have been a virulent type of influenza.

Bede's statement that Adamnan was tonsured in Roman fashion during one of his visits to Northumbria is of doubtful value. It hardly accords with the reverence shown by Adamnan to the memory of Columba in his *Life* of that great saint. Columba, as we have seen, was sneered at by the Romanists of Northumbria, and Adamnan, who credited St. Columba with the immunity from plague enjoyed by the Picts and the Scots of Argyll who were faithful adherents of the Columban Church, may well have thought that the Angles were suffering from it as a punishment for expelling Colman from Lindisfarne.

Two years after Aldfrid began to reign Wilfrid returned to Northumbria. He could not, however, recover all he had lost, and his bishopric was a restricted one. For five years he engaged in stormy protests and disputes, and then King Aldfrid degraded and expelled him. When several years later Wilfrid returned, he found that the Columban clergy in Northumbria had again grown powerful and even that his own life was threatened. Once more he proceeded to Rome and once more he was justified there, but when he next requested King Aldfrid for an interview he met with a firm refusal. Wilfrid was not received back in Northumbria until Aldfrid's son Osrid came to the throne. According to William of Malmesbury, Osrid was ultimately " taken off by the hostility of his relatives ", having been guilty, among other offences, of the seduction of nuns. His death occurred in 716.

CHAPTER XIV

Two Great Pictish Kings

In the eighth century there were great happenings and two great kings in Pictland. During its first half the Roman Catholic faith was introduced by King Nechtan II, who became a religious dictator. The Nonconformists of his time were the Columban clergy, and he banished them from his kingdom. After reigning for about eighteen years he turned hermit and seems to have lived in a cave in the Cromarty area. Then he returned to political life, but after reigning again for about twelve months he was forced to retire into obscurity.

King Angus I, a Napoleon of his time, had meanwhile accomplished the conquest of Pictland. Thereafter he subdued the Scots of Dalriada, invaded the Lowland territory of the Angles, and battled against the Britons of Strathclyde. In the end he made common cause with Northumbria to reduce the Strathclyde kingdom to the status of a tributary state. It was during his long reign of about thirty years that the growing influence of the Anglo-Roman clergy was arrested by substituting St. Andrew for St. Peter as the patron saint of the Church in Pictland.

Towards the latter part of the eighth century Northumbria went to pieces in the throes of civil war, and the Viking Age was inaugurated.

When King Brude III, the victor of Nechtansmere,

passed away in 693, the throne of Pictland was seized by Tarain, son of Ainftech, who appears to have been connected with the royal house of Dalriada as well as with that of Pictland. His name is of special interest because it enshrines that of the old Gaulish thunder-god, Taranis. After a reign of only four years he was deposed, and he subsequently found it necessary to seek refuge in Ireland.

The next king was Brude IV, son of Derile, the grandson of Brude III, the liberator, and he reigned for about nine years (697–706). Soon after he came to the throne the Angles endeavoured to regain lost ground in the Lowlands, but they suffered defeat in a battle, dated 698, in which their leader, whom Bede calls Berctred, was slain.

Dalriada had for some years been disturbed by civil war. The royal houses of Lorn and Knapdale (Gabran's line) were struggling for supremacy, and the situation was for a time complicated by the appearance of an Irish claimant. In the end, however, Selbach of the Lorn family proved himself the victor, and he reigned more or less securely for about twenty-two years (701–23).

King Brude IV was succeeded by his famous brother, King Nechtan II, who began to reign in 706, the year after that in which Aldfrid, the half-Irish King of Northumbria, passed away.

During the early part of Nechtan's reign battles were fought in Argyll, Skye, and the Orkneys. Dalriada was recovering its power and independence under the able rule of Selbach. In 711 the Scots won a victory in conflict with the Britons of Strathclyde, whose king had apparently been overlord of some part of Argyll.

The Northumbrians had again become aggressive in the Lowlands. They won a victory over the Picts in 711 which Henry of Huntingdon, the twelfth-century English historian,

regarded as compensation for Nechtansmere. The Anglian leader Bertfrid " became ", as he puts it, " the avenger of Egfrid ". It is uncertain where this battle was fought. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, it was between " Hæfe and Cære ", or, as Henry of Huntingdon renders the names, " Heve et Cere ". Skene assumed that the locality was between the rivers Avon and Carron, because in the *Annals of Tigernach* and the *Annals of Ulster* the battle is said to have been fought in the plain of " Mano ". But it may be rash to assume that this was necessarily the district known to the Welsh as " Manau ", a name which survives in " Clackmannan " and " Slamannan ". There were, as Watson has shown, a Dún Manann in County Cork and a Mín Manann in Connacht, while Anglesey had a Manaw and the Welsh knew the Isle of Man as Manau. The name was probably a tribal one—that of the *Man-ap-ii*, a branch of the seafaring *Menapii* on the lower Rhine who gave aid to the Veneti of Brittany in the naval war against Julius Cæsar. There may have been a settlement of this people in Northumbria. It is of interest, at anyrate, to find Mr. J. L. Gough Meissner, in his *The Celtic Church in England*, identifying " Cære " as Carraw " on the Roman wall some seven or eight miles to the north-west of Hexham ". He reminds us that Carraw was " a residence at one time of the priors of Hexham " and that it is " mentioned several times in the official documents of the Priory ". Meissner writes regarding the battle: " We see how real the Pictish menace was in the first half of the eighth century, when their armies had actually advanced into the heart of Northumbria. This time they were thrown back; they still, however, . . . retained the territory they had taken from Aldfrid."

That King Nechtan was brought into intimate touch with

Northumbria is made evident by the fact that he became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith. Wilfrid, who died in 709, had had care of the young King Osrid, son of Aldfrid, the Roman Catholic party having become politically powerful. He had himself been restored to the see of Hexham, and his successor, Bishop Acca, was a strong Roman Catholic who, according to Bede, accompanied Wilfrid to Rome and had been his constant friend and supporter. The monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow lay within the diocese of Acca and were the chief centres for the propagation of the Roman Catholic faith in Northumbria.

King Nechtan came under the influence of Wearmouth. Bede tells that his conversion to Roman Catholicism was brought about by " frequent meditation on ecclesiastical writings " and that " he sought assistance from the English whom he knew to have long since formed their religion after the example of the holy Roman Apostolic Church ". He sent messengers to the venerable Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, but it is likely that he had received visits from Roman Catholic emissaries and that his subsequent actions were not without political significance. At a time when Northumbria was in the throes of a stern struggle between the Columbans and Roman Catholics, King Nechtan may have considered it wise to ally himself with the latter and thus strengthen his hold in the eastern Lowlands.

Bede reproduces in full a letter written to the Pictish king by Ceolfrid, who had himself visited Rome and received there instruction in Roman Catholic doctrines and usages. In this communication we find the Roman Catholic abbot discussing the question of the tonsure, the proper observation of Easter, and other ecclesiastical matters connected with the supremacy of the Pope as the living representative of St. Peter.

The Roman Catholic crown tonsure is declared to be "a sign of the passion of our Lord", and it is said to be formed "on the top of our head which is the highest part of our body" because it is symbolic of "the cross of thorns which Christ bore". Ceolfrid is scornful regarding the Columban forehead tonsure. He says it is the same tonsure as that of the heretical Simon Magus and adds, "What Christian will not therefore immediately detest and cast it off together with his magic?"

Ceolfrid asserts that Adamnan had when in Northumbria paid a visit to Wearmouth and there discussed very gravely the question of the tonsure. The Abbot of Iona is represented as expressing abhorrence of the Columban tonsure and referring to it as "Simoniacal wickedness". According to Ceolfrid, Adamnan became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith and subsequently made converts in Ireland, although he failed to convince the monks of Iona over whom he presided. As has been indicated, however, there is no evidence of this conversion in Adamnan's *Life of Columba*.

When Ceolfrid deals with the observation of Easter, it is of especial interest to find him referring to the learned Egyptians (of the Coptic Church) as authorities in the measurement of time. In the eighth century it was a far cry from the Scottish Highlands to the valley of the Nile!

Ceolfrid's letter was written in Latin. King Nechtan could not read it, but Bede informs us that he had at his court certain scholars "who carefully translated it into his own language". Its reasoning convinced and converted Nechtan, and he decided to have the Roman Catholic tonsure adopted and the Roman Catholic Easter observed throughout his kingdom. A royal edict was accordingly issued, and it was ordered to be "transcribed, learned and

observed ". Bede tells that thereafter in Pictland " all the ministers of the altar and the monks had their crowns shorn " and that " the nation thus reformed rejoiced in being newly placed under the direction of Peter, the most blessed prince of the apostles, and in being secure under his protection ".

At King Nechtan's request, Ceolfrid sent architects to Pictland to build a stone church " after the Roman manner ". The Pictish king had this church dedicated to St. Peter. According to Bede, Nechtan promised faithfully that " he and all his people would always follow the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church as far as their remoteness from the Roman language and nation would allow ".

As Ceolfrid had, on behalf of the Pope, appealed to King Nechtan and approved of his action as a dictator in religious matters, that monarch betrayed a characteristic peculiar to these islands, for he assumed authority over the Christian Church within his dominions. In this connexion he was followed by his immediate successors, and it was not until over a century and a half that the clergy again asserted with some degree of success their claim on behalf of the principle of spiritual independence.

King Nechtan expelled the Columban clergy from Pictland, replacing them by priests who had conformed to Rome. He thus founded the Pictish Church. The return to power of the Columban clergy did not take place until after Pictland and Dalriada were united finally into a single kingdom.

A prominent churchman associated with the conversion of King Nechtan was St. Curitan (St. Kiritinus). Nechtan is said to have given to this saint the place of his own conversion. There, at the mouth of the river Gobriat in Pictland, St. Curitan built a church. He erected another church at Rosemarkie in the Black Isle, Ross and Cromarty. No

fewer than 150 churches in all are said to have been built by St. Curitan, who is credited with the conversion of 36,000 persons!

King Nechtan's capital must have been Inverness, for we find that St. Curitan's activities were centred in northern Scotland. Watson shows that he was Bishop and Abbot of Rosemarkie and that churches were dedicated to him in the Inverness area, one at Bona at the lower end of Loch Ness, another at Farnua north of Inverness, another at Corrimony in Glen Urquhart, and another at Struy in Strathglass. His " seat " (*Suidhe Churadáin*) is situated between Loch Ness and Caiplich, and his croft and well are in Glen Urquhart. The saint's name is still associated with a graveyard at Assynt, Novar, Ross and Cromarty, where there was formerly a church. A hillock to the north of Alness in the same county still commemorates his name. The influence exercised by Rosemarkie after the saint's time is enshrined, as Watson shows, in the deanery of Buchan by " Ecclesia de Ciridan ".

St. Maelrubha of Applecross, Ross and Cromarty, died in 722 during the reign of King Nechtan. He is the most renowned Scoto-Irish saint after St. Columba and was, like him, of royal blood, for he was a direct descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His name clings to Loch Maree, and his grave is still pointed out in Applecross. There are St. Maelrubha (St. Mourie) commemorations in Argyll and the Outer Hebrides; he was patron of the parish of Contin, and the surviving place-name *Preas Ma-Ruibhe*, near Strathpeffer, means " Copse of Maelrubha ". His fair was held at Contin and was subsequently transferred to Dingwall. He was also the saint of Lairg in Sutherland and, as Watson shows, was commemorated in Banffshire, Fife, and Perthshire. Long centuries after his death he was

worshipped as a god in the Loch Maree area, where bulls were sacrificed to him and oblations of milk poured on the hills, as has been stated. Evidently the religious beliefs and customs of the common people remained in some areas a curious blend of Christianity and paganism.

The Pictish language, and with it the pre-Celtic language or languages, began to fall into decay in consequence of the activities of the early Christians. It was in Gaelic that the Columban missionaries preached, and the Pictish clergy received their training in Gaelic-speaking Ireland. " Clerics and nobles," writes Watson in this connexion, " would have been among the first to learn Gaelic. An interesting glimpse of the transition stage between Pictish and Gaelic is given in the tradition of St. Manirus recorded in the *Aberdeen Breviary*, where we are told that in consequence of the difficulty caused by diversity of language among the people, Manirus, being excellently skilled in both languages, went to labour at Crathie in Braemar. He was probably a native Pict who had been trained in Ireland."

The community of Iona adopted the Roman Easter and tonsure in 718. Their conversion in these matters was accomplished by Egbert, but the memory and the relics of St. Columba were still revered. As in Northumbria, the adoption by Columbans of the Roman Catholic Easter and the crown tonsure did not necessarily involve complete conversion to the Roman Catholic faith.

It may well be that the political upheavals that subsequently occurred in Dalriada and Pictland were not unconnected with the activities of the strictly orthodox Columban party, which was not likely to yield without a struggle. The royal house of Gabran, of which King Aidan, the friend of Columba, had been so notable a representative, again came into prominence. In 719 King Selbach was

defeated in a naval battle in western waters by Duncan Bec, King of Kintyre, who probably received help from Ireland. Three years later King Selbach became a monk or hermit, and he was succeeded by his son King Dungal, who, however, after a brief reign was expelled by King Eochaid of the rival royal house. Eochaid's brother Alpin thereafter became active in Pictland, in which he may have been a champion of the Columbans. Eochaid and Alpin were great-grandsons of Donald Brecc, the grandson of St. Columba's friend, King Aidan.

King Nechtan vacated the Pictish throne in 724 and became a hermit. He appears to have retired to a sea-shore cave in the parish of Nigg and outside the Cromarty Firth. It is still known as the " King's cave ", and the steep path leading down to it is in Gaelic *Cadha Neachdain* (" Nechtan's path "). Near it on the beach is an old graveyard, and Watson suggests that the place was regarded as " holy ground " because hermits once lived in the King's cave and other caves in its vicinity. That the area was a sacred one even in pagan times is made manifest by the surviving place-name *Cadha port an druidh* (" Path of the Druid's port "). Another interesting name in Nigg is translated " the well of the black sword of Erin, facing the sun in the Druid's port ", or, as Watson suggests, " that rose in the Druid's port ". Across the Firth, a few miles from Cromarty, is the moor of Navity, the sacred *nemet* (shrine in a grove) of the Druids which, like other pagan holy places, was taken over by the early Christians. Three chapels were erected at Navity, and a shoreland " wishing well " with an overhanging bush on which rags are still tied, bears the name of St. Bennet (Benedict). The lands of Navity formerly formed the endowment of a chapel in the Cathedral of Fortrose (beside Rosemarkie). In the parish of Nigg were

erected three famous sculptured stones, known as the stones of Hilton, Shandwick, and Nigg, and another was erected at Rosemarkie. A story of the drowning of three Viking princes is connected with the Nigg stones, the King's cave, and a skerry off the coast called in Gaelic *Creag Harail* (" Harold's Rock "). Thus we have, in the vicinity of the Cromarty Firth, the safest harbour on the east coast, Pictish and Viking memories that have survived for over a thousand years.

When King Nechtan, probably on account of political pressure, vacated the throne, he was succeeded by Drust. The name of this king is Pictish, the form Drostan meaning " sprung from Drust ". Drust reigned for only about two years. In 726 he was dethroned, and then Alpin, brother of King Eochaid of Dalriada, became king of the Picts. As has been suggested, his success was probably due to the influence of the Columban party.

The political upheaval which brought Alpin to the throne caused Nechtan to leave his cave and again take an active part in national affairs. Drust appears to have been at first opposed to his action, because Tigernach records that he arrested and bound Nechtan. Shortly afterwards, however, Drust was dethroned. He still had considerable forces at his command, however, and it may be that he and Nechtan arrived at a mutual understanding, for Nechtan himself afterwards took the field.

The fact that the two brothers Eochaid and Alpin began to reign in Dalriada and Pictland in the same year suggests that Ireland was taking an active part in the politics of these two kingdoms. It is significant to find in this connexion that the relics of Adamnan were removed from Iona to Ireland. The Columban party was evidently politically active, for with the relics went ecclesiastical authority.

It was not, however, permitted for the Columban and Roman Catholic parties to decide the future of civil and ecclesiastical control in Pictland and Dalriada.

A new claimant to the Pictish throne appeared in Angus, King of Fortriu. He seems to have held delegated authority during Nechtan's reign in the area of Angus and the Mearns, the home of the old Munster family of Eoganacht, the ancestors of the modern Ewings and MacEwens of Scotland. He had a brother and a son both named Brude, and may therefore have been, and probably was, connected with the Pictish royal line. Perhaps his grandfather had married a Pictish princess.

In 727, the year after Alpin began to reign, Angus fought three battles with Drust and was the victor on each occasion. Selbach, who, like Nechtan, had become a hermit, also returned to political life, and in the same year fought a battle against King Eochaid in Dalriada. This rising of the Scots of the house of Lorn must have weakened the hold of Alpin upon Pictland. In the following year (728), the army of Angus met the army of Alpin in the battle of Monadh-craibe (Moncrieff). Alpin was slain and Angus "assumed authority".

In the same year, and evidently before this battle had been fought, the army of Alpin suffered defeat in the north, and Nechtan again ascended the throne. The annals of the year 728 are somewhat vague, but it would appear that the immediate results of the battles referred to were the establishment of Angus as supreme ruler of southern Pictland and of Nechtan as ruler of northern Pictland.

In 729 Angus won two victories, one against Drust, who was killed, and another against Nechtan, who had again to retire from political life.

It is uncertain whether or not Drust and Nechtan were

co-operating with one another. It may well be that they were. Of special interest in this connexion is the fact that a great fleet of warships had been mobilized in northern waters, probably in the Cromarty Firth. It consisted of 150 Pictish ships, and if each vessel carried about 20 soldiers, the sea-transported force of fighting men must have numbered about 3000. Such a force, or one half that strength, would have played an important and, perhaps, a decisive part in the campaign of 729. It was apparently intended to attack Angus with overwhelming forces. But as the fleet was sailing along the southern coast of the Moray Firth a fierce northern gale arose, and all the vessels were driven ashore and wrecked upon Ros-Cuissine (Troup Head).

Angus was meantime characteristically active. He won a victory at Druimm-Derg-Blathuug in the month of August, and his opponent Drust was slain.

In the same year Angus fought and defeated Nechtan in the " battle of Monith Carno near Loch Loogdae ". Watson locates this battle in the vicinity of Tyndrum, Perthshire, where the river Lochy flows from a small loch now called *Lochan na Bi* (" lochlet of pitch pine "). He suggests that Angus drove the army of Nechtan westward through Glen Dochart. The Scots of the Lorn house of Selbach, who were in conflict with Eochaid, Alpin's brother, were probably the allies of Nechtan, and perhaps he was to receive aid from them.

The plan of the campaign conducted against Angus may well have been to transport one army by sea from the north of Scotland to the Firth of Tay and to move another army through Perthshire into Angus and the Mearns. If Drust was co-operating with Nechtan, which is probable, Angus was to be opposed by three converging armies, and these would in all likelihood have accomplished his downfall. But, like

Napoleon, Angus acted quickly and struck hard, defeating his opponents in detail and setting their plans at nought. The disaster to the fleet was for him a fortunate occurrence. After suffering defeat, Nechtan once more retired from active political life, and died about two years later.

Angus was then left supreme in Pictland, Alpin and Drust being dead and Nechtan rendered powerless. If Scotland had had its Bede to chronicle the events of this period, we should know more about him. To the continuator of Bede's history he was simply a " butchering tyrant " who throughout his long reign indulged in " sanguinary crimes ". But the Roman Catholic churchmen had no cause to love him, for he was opposed to their growing influence in religious and political life.

Having established his supremacy in Pictland, Angus began to take an active part in the affairs of Dalriada. There his first opponent was Talorcan, son of Congus. As this prince bore a Pictish name, the same as that of the royal son of Anfrid, the elder brother of Oswald and Oswy, it is probable that he may have had a claim to the Pictish throne.

In 731 Brude, son of Angus, was conducting military operations in Dalriada. He fought two battles against Talorcan, losing one and winning the other.

Two years later Dungal, son of Selbach, of the Lorn house, took Brude prisoner. In doing so he profaned the sanctuary of a church on Tory Island. Apparently Brude was in command of a naval force and had been forced to take flight before a stronger fleet. Dungal subsequently raided the island of Cuilen-rigi, which may be Inch off Inchowen in Donegal.

King Angus entered Dalriada with a strong army in the following year (734). Dungal was wounded in battle

and took flight to Ireland. His ally Talorcan was severely dealt with, because we find him handing over his brother to the Picts, who had him executed by drowning.

Two years later Angus was again back in Dalriada, Dungal having returned from Ireland. The Pictish king laid a great area waste by fire and sword, and it is recorded that he captured Dunadd (in the Crinan Canal area) and burned a place called Creic (perhaps Craignish). Both Dungal and his brothers were taken prisoners and bound with chains. As nothing is heard of them afterwards, they were probably executed. It is recorded that Brude, son of Angus, died in the same year. He may have been held a prisoner until his father overcame Dungal.

About this time Talorcan, King Angus's brother, defeated Muiredach, King of Lorn, in the battle of Cnoc Coirpri (" Cairbre's hill ") in Calathros at Etarlindu. Watson has shown that the latter name still survives as *Eadarlinn* (Ederline) between Loch Awe and a small loch.

Five years later (741) Angus defeated Indrechtach, King of Dalriada, and thus completed the conquest of the Argyll kingdom of the Scots.

In the previous year he had measured his strength against that of Northumbria. Bede's continuator refers to this campaign. King Angus was opposed by King Edbert (737–58), during whose absence Ethelbald, King of Mercia, wasted part of Northumbria. Symeon of Durham refers to a battle between the Picts and the Britons in the same year (744), but does not say which side prevailed.

Six years later (750) the Britons of Strathclyde had become very powerful. It is possible that they were being reinforced by the Scots from Dalriada and Ireland who were opposed to the rule of Angus over Argyll. A " bloody battle " was fought between the Picts and Britons at a

place called Mocetauc or Catoic. The Britons won a great victory, and Talorcan and one of his brothers were slain.

This defeat proved a disastrous one for King Angus, for he was driven from the throne and supplanted by a rival who bore the historic name of Brude son of Mælchon —the same as that of the Pictish king who reigned at Inverness during the time of St. Columba. It is possible, therefore, that a section of the Picts—apparently those in the north—had risen against Angus.

Two years later Teudubr, king of the Strathclyde Britons, died at Dumbarton. In the same year Angus defeated and slew King Brude V in the battle of Asreth " in the land of Circinn " (the Mearns). He then resumed the sovereignty of Pictland (752).

We next find Angus as an ally of Edbert, King of Northumbria. Both monarchs had evidently cause to be worried with regard to the growing power of Strathclyde, and they resolved to accord it drastic treatment. In 756, according to Symeon of Durham, Edbert and Angus led their armies against the strong fortress of Dumbarton and compelled the Britons to accept their terms. We can take it for granted that both the Picts and Angles had agreed to share in the territory which was taken from the Strathclyde monarch.

After the allies had separated a disaster befell the Angles. We are not informed by whom the blow was delivered, but simply that as the Anglian army was marching from Ovania (or Ouama) to Newburgh it was destroyed. " Almost the entire force perished," says Symeon of Durham. We do not know where Ovania was situated, nor what " new city " lay beyond it, but there can be little doubt that these centres of population were in Northumbria. " So crushing was the calamity," says Green, the English historian, " that

even Edbert could only fling down his sceptre and withdraw with his brother, the Archbishop, to a monastery. From this time the history of Northumbria is only a wild story of lawlessness and bloodshed. King after king was swept away by treason and revolt, the country fell into the hands of its turbulent nobles, the very fields lay waste and the land was scourged by famine and plague. Isolated from the rest of the country during fifty years of anarchy, the northern realm hardly seemed to form part of the English people." It may well be that, as in 740, the blow came from Mercia, which at the time was Northumbria's most dangerous rival.

Angus lived for five years after the subjection of Strathclyde, and there are no records of any battles either in Pictland or Dalriada.

During his reign the cult of St. Andrew was introduced into Scotland. According to the traditions, which were amplified in later times, St. Regulus came to Fife with the relics of St. Andrew which had been preserved in Constantinople. A monastery was built at the town which was to become known as St. Andrews, and it appears to have been subsequently enlarged. St. Regulus is a shadowy figure, but the fact that he was afterwards associated with the seaport towns of St. Andrews and Cromarty suggests that his cult was connected with seafaring communities in touch with the Continent.

With the cult of St. Andrew may well have come those artistic craftsmen whose memorials are those beautiful sculptured stones which are usually designated as " Pictish ". They contrast sharply with the ancient sculptured stones of the western area which were the work of the Columban art craftsmen. The fact that they are so numerous in the county of Angus, the original homeland of King Angus, may not be without significance. To the Angus school of

art belongs the Cadbol stone of Nigg (now in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh).

The art of these " Pictish " stones must have been developed either on wood or in manuscripts. It displays undoubted Byzantine influence, and it may be that it affords confirmation of the view that during the reign of Angus, if not earlier, the influence of the Greek Church had reached the east coast of Scotland.

St. Andrew displaced St. Peter as the patron saint of the Scottish Church, and the influence of his cult became so widespread and deep-rooted that account had to be taken of it subsequently by both the Columban and Roman Catholic Churches.

The St. Regulus traditions became connected with King Angus II of the ninth century, but there can be no doubt that Angus I was a patron of the St. Andrews cult, which, as has been suggested, may have had its beginnings in Scotland even before his time. The legend that St. Andrew appeared to King Angus I in a vision and gave him victory against great odds is of interest in this connexion.

CHAPTER XV

The Early Viking Age

The Viking Age opened abruptly in our islands in 793 with the raid of Lindisfarne. Symeon of Durham tells a pitiful story of the slaughter of monks and nuns and the robbing of " all the treasures of the holy church ", and he compares the " pagans from the northern region "—they appear to have been Danes—to " stinging hornets " and " fierce wolves ".

Attempts have been made to relegate the first arrival of Scandinavian seafarers to a still earlier date by urging that groups of Norse peasants had effected settlements in the Shetlands and Orkneys by the end, if not during the middle, of the seventh century. This theory, based upon shadowy philological and archæological evidence, necessitates the view that the northern island groups had lost their Pictish population and the mainland Picts were either neglectful of them or unable to oppose the aliens, having at their disposal only fishermen's coracles or primitive dug-out canoes. But, as we have seen, a Pictish king could in 729 mobilize a fleet of 150 warships, the Picts having from Roman times been as active at sea as upon land.

The Picts required a strong navy. It would have been difficult if not impossible for them to hold sway over Dalriada " of musical boats " unless they had secured and

kept command of the sea. The value of the Orkneys as a base for naval operations in both eastern and western Scottish waters could scarcely, therefore, have been overlooked by them. Withal, as is testified by historical records, they were able to give protection to the Gaelic missionaries and hermits in the Orkneys and Shetlands as well as those in the Hebrides.

We have seen that in 682 King Brude the Brave found it necessary to attack the pirates of Orkney. In 709, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, another expedition was sent against the Orcs. A battle was fought, and in it fell " the son of Artablar ", who must have been a person of some importance, seeing that he is especially referred to.

Thus, at the beginning of the eighth century, the Orkneys were not only populated by Picts, but by a somewhat powerful and organized group who had to be severely chastised for their wrongdoings.

After King Brude III had compelled the seafarers of Orkney and Shetland to leave the Gaelic clergy unmolested, groups of Columban hermits, as has been indicated, found " deserts " in the Faroes, and they continued to frequent these islands for nearly a hundred years—that is, until towards the close of the eighth century. Dicuil, the Irish chronicler, tells that the Faroes could be reached from the Orkneys with a favourable wind in two days and nights. When he wrote (about 825), the Faroes, as he tells, had been deserted by hermits because of the operations of " the Norse robbers ".

It is possible that the Gaelic hermits first heard of the existence of the Faroes from the Picts. These daring seafarers had long been familiar with the " whale roads " as well as the " swan-ways ". If they could sail as far south as the Severn during the lifetime of Gildas, and at an earlier

period co-operate with the Saxon pirates to whom they gave a naval base in Orkney, it is not only possible but probable that they were accustomed to cross the North Sea. After Brude the Brave had dealt with the Orkney pirates so severely because of their attacks upon the Christian settlers in the northern isles and the Hebrides, these adventurers may well have found it necessary to conduct future plundering operations at some distance from the coasts of Scotland. Indeed, they may have given practical lessons to the Scandinavians in the business of piracy. When the early Vikings settled in the Orkneys and Shetlands, apparently as allies of the Picts, they harried the coasts of Norway until at length Harold Fairhair found it necessary to fit out an expedition against them.

That groups of the seafaring Picts effected settlements in Gotland is suggested by a series of distinctive pillar stones in that country which " date ", according to Professor W. G. Collingwood, " from 700 or earlier ". These monuments are adorned with " spirals and other ornaments of Celtic type " and suggest " intercourse between Celtic countries and the Baltic, possibly by way of Orkney and Norway ".

Those who are prone to begin the history of Scottish seafaring with the appearance in our waters of Scandinavian pirates, seem not to be aware that the Picts and Scots had long before the eighth century cultivated what is known as the " sea sense " and become brave and experienced navigators. The fact that certain powerful nobles in Pictland were called " Mormaers ", which means " Sea Lords ", is significant in this connexion.

If, then, Norse colonists settled in Orkney and Shetland before the beginning of the true Viking Age, it is difficult to see how they could have done so without the consent of the Picts. Nor was it likely that they should have known of

the existence of these island groups unless they had heard of them from Pictish visitors to the coasts of Norway.

A good deal of sentimental writing has been indulged in with regard to the Norse Vikings. It is necessary, therefore, to emphasize at the outset that a Viking (Vi'kingr) was simply a buccaneer — that Scandinavians *i viking* were engaged in the profitable business of piracy against peoples who were richer, more peaceful, and more civilized than themselves. The view that " Vikings " meant " men from the Vik " (of Norway) may still be favoured by some writers, but it is thoroughly unsound. The word *viking* is feminine and, as Professor W. G. Collingwood has shown, is used in reference to the life of a pirate in *Egil's Saga* (chapter 32), in which it is told that Björn *var stundum i viking enn stundum i kaupferdum* (" was sometimes in *viking*, but sometimes on trading voyages "). The name Viking (wīcing) was known in Anglo-Saxon England long before the Viking Age.

Not a few writers have cast a glamour of romance over the Viking Age. The mispronunciation of " viking " as " vy'king ", which should be rendered " vick'ing ", has been an aid to the sentimentalists in this connexion. To apply the term " heroic " to the viking life is sadly to misuse it in its real dictionary sense. The viking business as practised by the Scandinavians was a very sordid one. Norsemen and Danes were not only robbers but engaged in what we know as the " white slave traffic ". A company of Vikings were wont to boast of an expedition which brought them " a great prey of gold and girls ". They plundered monasteries, slew unoffending Christians without mercy, and carried off from raided districts attractive women, including nuns, whom they sold on the Continent to procurers, slave-traders, and keepers of brothels. A reference to this diabolical

trade is made in the *History of Denmark* by Saxo Grammaticus (Book VI, c. 193), when Starkad says to a young woman: " Thou deservest to be sold for a price to foreign peoples and to grind at the mill." The *Laxdale Saga* tells of a visit paid by Hoskuld, the Icelander, to a fair in the Brenn Isles which was attended by Norsemen, Swedes, and Danes. There a man who was known as " Gilli the Russian ", and belonged to the guild of merchants, sold young female captives. Hoskuld paid " three silver pieces " for a pretty girl who took his fancy, and although a married man carried her off to Iceland. She bore a son to him, and he became known as Olaf Peacock. It was subsequently discovered that the slave girl was the daughter of an Irish king. When only fifteen years of age she had been captured and carried off by Vikings, and she pretended to be deaf and dumb. At length Hoskuld overheard her teaching her son Olaf to speak Gaelic, and he then prevailed upon her to reveal her identity. The saga tells that Olaf subsequently paid a visit to his royal grandfather in Ireland, with whom he resided for a time.

Matthew Paris, who in the thirteenth century drew upon chronicles of earlier date, tells that in 870 a great host of Danes invaded Scotland; they killed all the boys and old men whom they found and, as Anderson translates, " commanded that the matrons, nuns and maidens should be given up to wantonness ". An abbess of Coldingham, fearing that the nuns under her care would be seized, cut off her nose and upper lip with a sharp knife, and her example was followed by the nuns. Next morning the Vikings arrived to plunder the " sacred house " and " give up to wantonness the holy women ". They were horrified to find that the women had mutilated themselves, and set fire to the building. " And so the execution was fulfilled by the servants of

iniquity," runs the chronicle, " and the holy abbess and all the virgins with her attained most holily to the glory of martyrdom."

Scotland may well be proud of the resistance it set up to the Scandinavian pirates from the very beginning of the Viking Age. King Angus I had not striven in vain to perpetuate the old Pictish system of central control, and he appears to have left Pictland and Dalriada well organized and well governed and capable of resisting aggression both upon land and sea. His Lowland campaigns had extended his dominions southward of the Forth and Clyde, and his successors appear to have taken advantage of the weakness of Northumbria to consolidate their power in Bernicia.

Angus I was succeeded in 761 by his brother Brude VI, who reigned for two years. This king was followed by his first cousin King Kenneth, son of Feradach, the brother of Angus I, who was slain in 750 in the battle of Mocetauc. Kenneth reigned for twelve years (763–75). When in 774 King Ealhred of Northumbria was deposed by the tyrannical Ethelred, son of the usurper Ethelwald Moll, he flew to the court of King Kenneth, who protected him, but in the following year Kenneth died and Ethelred was captured and slain by his Anglian enemies.

King Alpin (775–80), who succeeded Kenneth, must have maintained the Pictish hold over a great part of Bernicia, for although in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* he is referred to as " King of the Picts ", he is called " King of the Saxons " in the *Annals of Ulster*.

For some years following upon the death of Alpin, civil war waged in Pictland, there being rival claimants to the throne. During this confused period we begin to meet with Gaelic records of the depredations of the early Vikings.

In 789 Constantine, son of Fergus, came to the throne.

He proved himself a capable and powerful king and ruled for about thirty-one years. In the early part of his reign the Vikings were growing bolder and more aggressive. They pillaged Skye and raided Iona in 795. Ireland suffered greatly from their raids during the next few years, as did also some of the islands of the Hebrides. They raided Iona again in 802, and a third raid, which occurred in 806, was of so savage a character that about sixty-eight monks were slain. The Abbot Cellach subsequently carried a portion of the relics of St. Columba to Kells in Ireland, where a new monastery had been built for the accommodation of the Columban monks.

King Constantine I was greatly concerned regarding these Iona raids. He aimed at being a Columban champion, and began the erection of a church at Dunkeld in which a portion of the relics of St. Columba could be deposited.

During the last nine years of his life (811–20) he held direct sway over Dalriada as well as Pictland, instead of having a local prince ruling by delegated authority. No doubt he found it necessary to strengthen the central government so as to deal more effectively with the Vikings. In time the Columban monks returned to Iona, a fact which indicates that adequate measures had been taken to defend the sacred island.

Constantine was succeeded by his brother Angus II (820–34), who, as has been indicated, became confused in tradition with Angus I, son of Fergus. Five years after he began to reign Iona was once again suddenly raided by a band of fierce Vikings. The impatience they displayed indicates that they were well aware that their visit must necessarily be a brief one.

When the monks of Iona saw the Norse vessels approaching, they buried the gem-adorned golden shrine which contained

" the holy bones " of St. Columba. Some of them went into hiding; others chose to remain with the Abbot Blathmac, son of Fland, a brave and pious Irishman.

As soon as the Vikings landed they rushed hurriedly towards the church, in which Blathmac was solemnly celebrating mass with several of the brethren. They knew where the precious shrine was usually kept, and when they discovered that it was gone, they ordered the monks to inform them where it had been concealed. Receiving no satisfaction from these holy men, they butchered them one after the other in cold blood. Blathmac was spared to the last. The grey-haired abbot remained calm and steadfast, continuing his devotions until he was roughly seized by the pirates, who commanded him to reveal the whereabouts of the golden shrine. Blathmac answered calmly and truthfully that he did not know, adding that even if he did, he would not inform them. He was immediately slain and his body was brutally mutilated. The Vikings soon afterwards hastened away from the island. Probably a Pictish fleet was already in sight.

King Angus II appears to have shown less favour to the Columban Church than did his brother Constantine. His name is associated more with the cult of St. Andrew, and he is credited by tradition with having extended the monastery at St. Andrews which had been founded by Angus I.

When he died in 834, two rival claimants to the throne caused the kingdom to be divided against itself for at least a couple of years.

In 836 Eoganan, son of Angus II, held sway over Pictland and Dalriada. He reigned for only about three years, for in 839 he and his brother Bran perished in a battle with the Scandinavians.

The record of this battle in the *Annals of Ulster* states

that it was fought by " the gentiles " against " the men of Fortriu ", and it has been assumed by Skene and others that the Norsemen had raided central Scotland. In the composite texts in the *Wars of the Irish with the Foreigners*, edited by J. H. Todd, it is stated, however, that King Eoganan lost his life in a naval battle. A " vast royal fleet " (of Vikings) had descended upon Ulster, and its leader Tuirgeis imposed his rule upon all the foreigners in the north of Ireland. Dublin was subsequently occupied and Leinster and Connaught overrun, many monasteries being plundered.

A fleet of sixty-five Scandinavian vessels subsequently sailed northward, " keeping Ireland on the left ". King Eoganan had a Scoto-Pictish fleet mobilized for action, and put to sea and met the enemy, but he suffered defeat. " In this battle," runs the Irish record, " Eoganan, Angus's son, the King of Dalriada, was slain." He was, as has been indicated, King of Dalriada as well as of Fortriu. It may be that Aed, Boanta's son, who also perished with him, was in high command in Dalriada.

During the four years (839–43) following upon this naval battle two kings, Wrad, son of Bargoit, and Bred (or Brude), ruled in Pictland. The kingship of Dalriada was in 839 assumed by Alpin, the father of the future King Kenneth mac Alpin.

In the *Annals of the Four Masters* there is a significant reference to Kenneth. When Eoganan came to the throne, " Godfrey, son of Fergus, lord of Oriel (in Ulster), went to the Scottish Dalriada to reinforce it at the bidding of Kenneth mac Alpin ". This Godfrey had a Norse name, and he was either a foster-son of Fergus or one of the earliest representatives of the mixed stock known as the " Foreign Gaels ", the Gall-Gaels (*Gall-Ghaidhil*), who were to give their name

to Galloway. Watson says the Gall-Gaels are mentioned in the records for the first time in 852–3, when their fleet was opposed by that of the Irish king, Aed of Ailech, near Derry. They are then described as " Scots and foster-children of the Norsemen ", and they included in their numbers " men who had renounced their baptism " and adopted the customs and religion of the Scandinavians. They were the fiercest of the pirates. " Though the real Northmen were bad to the churches, they were far worse."

Before the Gall-Gaels overran Galloway, that area had been colonized by Scots from Argyll and probably from Ireland as well. Watson is of opinion that a great infusion of Gaelic stock must have taken place after the Northumbrian hold on Galloway had slackened during the period of anarchy which followed upon the destruction of the army of King Edbert, the ally of Angus I, in 756. We need not trouble about the " Picts of Galloway ", a creation of the theorists.

The conquest of the Scottish Dalriada by the Picts, which was completed by Angus I in 741, must have been followed, during the century which elapsed before the rise of Kenneth mac Alpin, by migrations of Gaels into Pictland. Argyll is not a fertile area, and when it had become part of the larger Scotland north of the Forth, many of its young men must have been attracted by the richer districts of central and eastern Scotland. Those who served in the army and navy of the Pictish kings were probably, in accordance with the customs of the time, rewarded with gifts of " sword land ". The Forth valley and Fife and parts of the Lothians appear to have received many Gaelic settlers.

Alpin, the father of Kenneth, was descended from the royal house of Gabran, and the blood of King Aidan therefore flowed in his veins. It may well be, as has been surmised,

that his father had married a Pictish princess. Bœce refers to him as " the nephew of Angus (II) by his sister Fergusiana ". He was killed (841) while fighting in Galloway, which, according to a chronicle, he " entirely wasted and destroyed ". It may be that his family had migrated to that area after the Picts had subdued Argyll, but it is uncertain whether his opponents were Angles or Gall-Gaels.

Kenneth mac Alpin appears to have reigned in Argyll for two years (841–3) before becoming king of the Picts. His sudden rise to power is surrounded with mystery. He lived in a time of great adventure and was a masterful and ambitious man, a far-seeing statesman and capable military leader. The death of King Eoganan in the naval battle was followed by confused conditions in Pictland and afforded him an opportunity of which he was not slow to take advantage. He appears to have had, by reason of his royal Pictish descent, a claim to the throne, but it is uncertain whether or not he really established his power as a conqueror. There is little justification for the view that the Scots of Argyll subdued the Picts by force of arms after being themselves in a state of subjection for about a century. The revolution which occurred appears to have been mainly a political one.

Kenneth's real opponents were the Pictish princes of the royal line and the Pictish nobles, and there may be genuine historical fact in the persisting tradition that he got rid of them at a " peace conference " which had been summoned to deal with the problem of succession to the throne. One of the lost tales of Ireland, as O'Curry notes, was entitled " The Treachery of Scone ". Giraldus Cambrensis may have heard a version of it, for he tells that the Picts were superior to the Scots in arms and valour, but were overcome by foul means. The Pictish nobles had been invited to a banquet, and their benches were fixed by bolts above

pits that had been secretly dug. When the bolts were drawn out, the nobles dropped into the pits, in which they were trapped up to the knees and were immediately assassinated.

We meet with a reference to this treachery in *Berchan's Prophecy* which is extracted in Skene's *Picts and Scots*. It refers to Kenneth as *Ferbasach* (the " conqueror " or " slaughterer "), " the first Irish king who will reign in the east, after using the strength of spears and of swords, after violent deaths, after violent slaughter. The fierce men in the east are deceived by him. They dig the earth (mighty is the art!), a deadly trap, death by wounding in the centre of Scone."

In the *Chronicle of the Canons of Huntingdon*, a compilation of the thirteenth century, it is stated that Kenneth fought against the Picts " seven times in one day ". This may be a reference to the murder of seven Pictish princes or nobles. The *Chronicle of Melrose*, however, credits Kenneth with " many battles ", and says he was the first to introduce " Scottish laws " into Pictland. Fordun may be sound in his view that the chief new law was that which regulated the succession to the throne, supplanting the Pictish law of inheritance by the female line.

Having got rid of the Pictish nobles, Kenneth appears to have supplanted them by men of his own selection. He must have had influential supporters among the Gaels who had already settled in the country, and, no doubt, they welcomed his accession to the throne. He was also backed by the Columban party, for he was a champion of their Church. In the seventh year of his reign, according to one of the chronicles, the relics of St. Columba were conveyed to the church at Dunkeld, and the Columban clergy became once more a power in the land.

Kenneth mac Alpin was undoubtedly one of the great kings of ancient Scotland. Like Brude I, Brude III, and Angus I, he was an outstanding champion of national independence and had a clear conception of the value of a strong centralized government. Although Ireland suffered greatly from Scandinavian raids and conquests, and England, weakened by internal rivalries, was doomed to fall like ripe fruit into Danish hands, the resistance of united Pictland was well maintained. There is only one record of a successful Danish raid. The pirates had come to know of the transference to Perthshire of the Columban relics and the jealously-guarded treasure of the clergy, and they penetrated the country as far inland as Dunkeld. They do not appear, however, to have obtained what they sought. It was easier to conceal among the Highland mountains than in Iona the precious and sacred articles that attracted them, and it was less easy for them to retreat overland than overseas. It is probable that this raid occurred when King Kenneth was absent on one of his military expeditions. He is said to have invaded Anglian territory six times and to have seized and burned Dunbar and Melrose. Apparently he extended his rule over the eastern Lowlands, which had become semi-independent. According to the fourteenth-century compilation of Randolph Higden, he subdued Bernicia from the Forth to the Tweed. He seems also to have made conquests at the expense of the Strathclyde kingdom. The Britons of that area once raided Pictland and burned Dunblane.

Kenneth is referred to by Duald MacFirbis as a man "of many stables". This significant statement indicates that he could mobilize a strong force of mounted men, and he may well have owed much of his success as a general to his mobile army. As we have seen, the Angles of Northumbria similarly made use of mounted forces in King Oswy's

time. When the Pictish rising took place immediately after the death of Oswy, the Northumbrian general Beornheth won his victory between the two rivers in Manau with " an army of cavalry ". The Danes in like manner made use of horses in war. When they undertook the conquest of England they landed on the coast, and during the winter season scoured the country for horses. They then " became ", as Professor Collingwood has shown, " a force of wonderfully active and mobile mounted infantry, like the hobelars of the thirteenth century or the Boers of recent times ". Mobile on land and strong at sea, the Danes were more than a match for the Angles and Saxons. King Kenneth must have had his ships of war as well as " many stables ", for he set up a strong defence against Scandinavian aggression.

It would appear, too, that Kenneth was an able diplomatist. His differences with the Britons were settled by an alliance which was confirmed by a royal marriage. One of his daughters married Run (pronounced *Roon*), the heir to the throne of Strathclyde; another daughter, named Mael Muire, married Aed Finnliath, King of Ireland, and their son Niall Glundubh became King of Ireland. Another daughter, named Muire, married the Irish prince Mael Mithigh, and their son Conghalach also became King of Ireland. According to Skene, a fourth daughter married Olaf the White, King of Dublin. This marriage, however, is very doubtful. There was more than one Olaf, and Olaf the White had, before he left Norway, married that famous lady Aud the Deep-minded, daughter of Ketil Flatnose and mother of Thorstein the Red. Another prominent Olaf was the son of Godfrey, a king of the Isles, who had, as we have seen, co-operated with King Kenneth before he became king of the Picts.

When King Kenneth died in 858, he was buried in Iona.

His brother Donald, who succeeded him, is apparently the ruler referred to in *Berchan's Prophecy* as " the son of a foreign woman ". We do not know, however, whether Donald's mother was Anglian, Danish, or Norse. His father had evidently effected a diplomatic second marriage when his famous son Kenneth was having dealings with men like Godfrey.

King Donald reigned for only three years. Then King Constantine II, son of Kenneth, came to the throne and reigned for about fifteen years (862–77). With him begins a new phase of the Viking Age, for the period of raiding was being followed by a period of organized conquest and settlement.

CHAPTER XVI

The Picts as Winter Warriors

"During the period of the Norse wars in Ireland," writes Professor Eoin MacNeill, "and for some centuries before and after it, the Irish had no permanent military organization. Their largest military operations never extended beyond a few weeks. Their fighting men were called out for the purpose from their ordinary peaceful occupations and could not lawfully be held to military service for more than a few weeks in any year. Thus there was no effective means of fighting down a hostile force encamped on its ships in a large inland water."

The conditions in Pictland, on the other hand, were different from those that obtained in Ireland. That part of Scotland was to a considerable extent one of stock-rearers and hunters. The coastal and island peoples had been seafarers from the earliest times of which we have knowledge, and apparently engaged in commerce as well as war. Like certain of the Norsemen, they went sometimes on trading voyages and sometimes on plundering expeditions. Surviving customs in the crofting districts, especially in the west, indicate that women engaged to a large extent in agricultural operations, tilling the soil and reaping the harvest while the men employed themselves at some distance from home. When cattle and sheep were driven to the

summer grazings, they were looked after by young women who lived in those temporary habitations known nowadays as shielings.

As in later times, the nobles mobilized each autumn large numbers of their tenants and retainers to engage in deer drives, bird shooting, and river fishing. Abundant supplies of salted flesh and fish were stored in fortresses and cottages for the winter season.

These hunting expeditions were conducted on a much larger scale in Scotland than in Ireland, and they continued for long an outstanding feature of Highland life. In the *Book of the Red Deer*, Watson shows that there are references in ancient Scottish Gaelic poetry to " combined hunts ", that certain place-names perpetuate the memory of them, and that tradition connects the name of Malcolm Canmore with the ruins of a " hunting house " in Mar, Aberdeenshire. A seventeenth-century description of a " combined hunt " in Monar, Ross and Cromarty, which was taken part in by prominent members of the Mackenzie and Fraser clans, tells that the hunting operations were suspended for four days to allow the men to engage in " jumping, arching, shooting, throwing the barr, the stone, and all manner of manly exercises imaginable ". There was great feasting, the fare including " beefe, mutton, foule, fishes, fat venison . . . and all manner of liquors ". Two Englishmen, surnamed Hill and Mann, were present as guests; they " declared that in all their travels they never had such brave divertisment, and if they should relate it in England it would be concluded meer rants and incredible ".

As Watson says, " these great hunts served the Gaelic nobles as an excellent and popular preparation and discipline for warfare; they took, in fact, the place of our modern ' autumn manœuvres ' ". He shows that one of the last hunt-

ing mobilizations " was that held in Braemar by the Earl of Mar in the end of August of 1715 to cover and initiate the Rising of that year ". The great hunts " passed with the passing of the Stuarts ", and nowadays " there are not enough men in the Highlands to make it possible to revive them ". Our annual " Highland games " are almost the only survivals of the ancient autumn gatherings, but we still hear references in Gaelic to the " Badger's moon ", following the " Harvest moon ", which ushers in the time for accumulating stores of food for the winter season.

Dogs were employed in these hunts and were also used in war. A reference to these is found in the *Book of Leinster* story " Fingal Rónain ", translated by Kuno Meyer, which relates to personages in the seventh century. It tells that the son of an Irish king visited Alba (Scotland) with fifty warriors. He found that the Scottish king " had hounds for hares, hounds for boars, hounds for deer ", while hounds were used in battle. Another story, " The Battle of Mag Mucrime ", translated by Whitley Stokes, tells of the sojourn in Scotland of the deposed King of Munster, named Lugaid, and his followers. The visitors distinguished themselves in battle and in " assembly and game and horse race ", and during the hours of leisure played with skill those games which resembled backgammon, draughts, and chess.

When invasions of Pictland occurred in ancient times, the nobles could raise large forces of men as they were accustomed to do in connexion with their annual hunting expeditions. The Pictish system of centralized government enabled a king to mobilize an army quickly by commanding his mormaers (" Sea Lords ") and other nobles to concentrate their forces in any particular area.

During the Viking Age, the Scandinavians might raid a district and plunder it freely, but they were not left to

settle down for the winter to rest and collect food supplies and horses for their spring campaign, as they invariably did in Ireland and England. The Picts were accustomed to winter campaigning. As we have seen, they were able to attack Hadrian's wall during the fourth century in the depth of winter. Even in Agricola's time the Caledonian and other Celtic tribes engaged in winter fighting. Tacitus says of the hardy Highlanders that they " were accustomed to compensate the summer's losses by the successes of the winter ".

The Scandinavians were " summer sailors " and summer campaigners. If they chanced to winter in a Pictish mainland seaport, they were not likely to be left in peace. The surrounding country was cleared of its live stock and laid waste. It was dangerous to penetrate far inland, for the men who had been mobilized for the hunting expeditions were wily and dangerous opponents, and ever ready to waylay and cut down foraging parties. A Scandinavian leader who ventured to winter on the mainland coast may well have found reason to say of his opponents as did Agricola when he addressed his army before the battle of Mons Graupius: " We have not the same acquaintance with the localities, or the same supplies of provisions—nothing but our hands and arms, and on these we must wholly depend." It should not surprise us, therefore, to find that in Scotland the Scandinavians had during the Viking Age fewer and smaller winter settlements than in either Ireland or England. At a later period, however, the Norsemen rented land from Highland nobles. This is shown by such surviving place-names as Scatwell (rented field) in Ross and Cromarty, and Scatdale, Argyll.

In the middle of the ninth century King Kenneth mac Alpin not only kept the Scandinavians at bay, but acted

on the aggressive against them upon land and sea. It was even possible for him, as we have seen, to extend his rule southward of the Forth. He certainly could never have conducted six campaigns against the " auld enemy ", the Angles, if the Norse pirates had constantly menaced the coasts of Pictland.

Kenneth appears to have co-operated with the northern Irish in restricting the operations of the foreign sea-rovers. His son-in-law, Aed Finnliath, King of Ireland, waged war with so much success that he cleared his country of Norse settlers to the north of Dublin and Limerick. The appearance on the Irish coasts of the Danes, known as the " Black Foreigners " or " Black Gentiles ", created a situation which must have greatly facilitated his operations, for they attacked the Norwegians, fighting several fierce battles. They are first mentioned in 851. After settling their differences the Danes and Norsemen became allies for a period.

When in 866 King Aed Finnliath had achieved his most notable successes, two Scandinavian kings reigned in Dublin. These were Olaf the White and Ivar the Boneless. The Irish records refer to them as " brothers ", but it is more probable they were allies and therefore simply " blood brothers ", Olaf being Norse and Ivar Danish. We find Ivar referred to as " chief king of all northmen (Norse and Danish) in Britain and Ireland ".

Finding themselves baffled in Ireland, the Scandinavians, after composing for a time their mutual rivalries, turned their attention to the countries which were to become known as Scotland and England. A great campaign of conquest had been planned, and the " master mind " appears to have been Ivar.

In 866, four years after King Constantine, son of Kenneth, came to the throne, Olaf and his " brother " Audgisl

penetrated Fortriu in Pictland and took hostages in pledge of tax. They appear to have remained for some months, wasting and plundering the land, but they did not achieve any permanent success. A curious story of dissension between the " brothers " is given in the *Fragments of Irish Annals* of Duald MacFirbis. It tells that in 866 Olaf (Anlaf) and Ivar both hated Auisle for secret reasons. Auisle said to Amlæibh, after requesting freedom of speech: " Brother, if you are not fond of your wife, the daughter of Cinædh (Kenneth), why not give her to me? and whatever dower you have given for her, I will give to you." At this Amlæibh drew his sword, dealt Auisle a blow on the head and killed him. This " daughter of Kenneth " could not have been either the daughter or the grand-daughter of Kenneth mac Alpin. Skene is wrong, therefore, in assuming that a daughter of the Pictish king had married a Scandinavian ruler in Ireland.

Some months after Olaf invaded Pictland, Ivar descended with a strong fleet on the eastern coast of England. The fact that he gave Bernicia a wide berth is of especial interest. He may have expected Olaf to have overrun that area. The Picts and the Britons appear, however, to have worsted Olaf's plans in the eastern Lowlands.

According to the record of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 866, the large heathen army (under Ivar) which landed in England fixed their winter quarters in East Anglia. There " they were soon horsed " and " the inhabitants made peace with them ".

At the time Northumbria was in the throes of civil war. King Osbert had been overthrown by the usurper Elle, the last Anglian king of Northumbria. Mercia had suffered decline, having been similarly weakened by internal dissension. Both kingdoms had been forced to acknowledge

the overlordship of Wessex, which seemed destined to become the predominant partner in a united England when the Danish invasion occurred.

In the course of five years East Anglia, Deira, and northern Mercia were subdued. King Elle of Northumbria was executed by having the figure of an eagle carved upon his back, salt being rubbed into the raw flesh. He was thus horribly tortured before he died. According to the Norse traditions, he was dealt with in this manner because he had tortured Ragnar, Ivar's father. We cannot, however, regard as sound history the Icelandic stories about Ragnar and his sons. All that seems certain in the evidence they afford is that the invaders of England were mainly Danes. King Edmund of East Anglia, who was captured in battle, met with as terrible a death as did King Elle, for he was tied to a tree and shot to death with arrows. Halfdan was left by Ivar to continue the war in England during this the Age of King Alfred of Wessex, who was to be long remembered as a great national hero.

In 870 Olaf and Ivar were besieging Dumbarton, the Britons of Strathclyde having evidently given them much trouble, and their operations were continued for four months. According to Duald MacFirbis, the defenders of Dumbarton were in the end compelled to submit because they ran short of water, the well inside the fort having " miraculously dried up ". Strathclyde was plundered, much booty being taken in Dumbarton.

Olaf and Ivar returned to Dublin in 871, and the *Annals of Ulster* state that their fleet consisted of two hundred vessels, and that they had as captives large numbers of Angles, Britons, and Picts.

Ivar died of old age two years later. Olaf fell in battle soon afterwards.

The fall of Dumbarton and the wasting of Strathclyde appears to have given King Constantine II an opportunity to extend the Pictish area of control in the Lowlands. In 872 we find that at his instigation Ardgal, king of the Britons, was assassinated. The next king of the Strathclyde kingdom was Run, the husband of one of King Constantine's sisters.

From this period Strathclyde, like Dalriada in earlier times, became closely linked with Pictland. King Run's son, Eochaidh, became king of the Picts in 878.

King Constantine had to contend with serious invasions. A fleet of a hundred Norwegian ships under the command of Olaf son of Godfrey (who must not be confused with Olaf the White) descended on the Pictish coast, but Constantine won a victory and Olaf was slain.

During the latter part of his reign a Danish invasion occurred on the east coast. King Constantine fought a battle at Dollar, but his army was defeated and he himself slain. The Picts were forced to retreat towards " Achcochlam " (Atholl). The king's body was buried in Iona.

According to another record, the battle was fought not at Dollar but Inverdovat, which Skene has identified with Inverdovet in the parish of Forgan in north-eastern Fife. The *Chronicle of Melrose* states that the battle was fought near the " Black cave ". A cave at the East Neuk of Fife is still known as " Constantine's cave ", and it may be that it was occupied by the king at some time during this campaign.

In *Berchan's Prophecy* Constantine is said to have been a tall, fair man, and he is significantly referred to as " the cow-herd of the fold of the cows of the Picts ". He is stated to have fought four battles against the Fair Foreigners (the Norsemen) and one against " the Britons of green

mantles ", a reference apparently to his operations in Strathclyde. The day of his death in battle against the Danes is given as Thursday.

Aed White-foot, another son of Kenneth mac Alpin, was Constantine's successor, but he reigned for no more than a year, dying of wounds in the battle of Strathallan. His slayer was Giric, son of Dungal.

The next king was Eochaid, son of Run, the King of Strathclyde and grandson of Kenneth mac Alpin. His name means " Yew warrior ", and, as we have seen, there was in pagan times a Yew cult which was connected with Iona. Giric is said to have been his foster-father, and he took so prominent a part in the government of Pictland that he was virtually the ruler.

Giric is credited with having subdued Bernicia and invaded the country of the Angles (Deira). According to *Berchan's Prophecy*, the power of the Strathclyde Britons was low in his time, while that of Scotland of " the melodious boats " was high. Evidently the Scots of Argyll were strong at sea, and the custom of singing while rowing was as common in Giric's time as in that of Dr. Johnson, who crossed from Skye to Raasay in a " melodious boat ", the Highland oarsmen singing in old-time fashion.

Giric was a champion of the Columban Church and is said to have relieved it of the servitude it had been forced to endure under the Picts.

An eclipse of the sun occurred during the reign of Eochaid on 16th June, 885, the day of St. Cyrus. Both Eochaid and Giric are said to have been expelled from the kingdom.

Donald, son of Constantine, was the next king, and he reigned for eleven years. He is referred to in *Berchan's Prophecy* as " the rough one " who cared little for sacred relics and psalms; his reign was a disturbed one, for he had

to fight against both Gaels and Fair Foreigners. The fact that he died at Forres is of especial interest, because during his reign the Norsemen became very active and aggressive in the north of Scotland.

During the reign of Constantine, Harold Fairhair had completed the conquest of the states of Norway, which he welded into a single kingdom. A number of the earls who refused to submit to him fled to the Orkneys, Shetlands, and the Hebrides, where they became leaders of piratical bands. In the summer they harried the coasts of Norway, and their depredations became so serious that King Harold fitted out an expedition and crossed the North Sea to deal with them. At the time Donald was king of the Picts.

King Harold first visited Shetland, where he slew all the Vikings who did not flee before him. Then he " cleaned " Orkney of pirates. He afterwards plundered in the Hebrides and on the mainland of Scotland. His operations extended southward to the Isle of Man. The Shetlands and the Orkneys were thereafter included by Harold in his kingdom, and he appointed as first Earl of Orkney, Rögnvald (Ronald), Earl of Mœri, father of Rollo, the conqueror of Normandy. Rögnvald subsequently gave the Orkney earldom to his brother Sigurd Eysteinson.

Some time later Sigurd formed an alliance with Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White, King of Dublin. They mobilized a strong force and overran Caithness, Sutherland, and parts of Ross and Moray. The Gaelic mormaer, Mælbrigte Tooth, had a meeting with Sigurd at Ekkjals-bakki, which Skene located in the Grampians but Watson has shown to be Oykell-bank, Ptolemy's Ripa Alta (High Bank) at the head of the Dornoch Firth. It had been agreed that the leaders should each be accompanied by forty men, but Sigurd arrived with eighty because, according to the

Orkney Saga, he imagined that the mormaer would be faithless. " We are betrayed!" exclaimed Mælbrigte as the Norsemen drew near; " but let us brace ourselves and each kill a man before we all perish."

A hard conflict ensued, and the Gaelic mormaer's force was slain to the last man.

Sigurd had Mælbrigte's head suspended from the saddle-straps of his horse, but as he rode away the projecting tooth, which gave the mormaer his nickname, punctured the calf of one of Sigurd's legs. The wound subsequently swelled and caused Sigurd's death. It is of interest to note that Sigurd was buried in a " howe " at Cyderhall, near Dornoch. In 1230, as Watson has shown, Cyderhall, the modern anglicized form of " Sigurd's howe ", was " Syward-hoth ".

Thorstein the Red, according to the saga evidence, proclaimed himself king of northern Scotland, having made peace with the Scots, but his reign lasted for only about a year. He was slain in a battle which was fought in Caithness. His mother Aud gave her daughter Groa in marriage to Duncan, a Caithness mormaer, whose name clings to Duncansby. Then she took flight to Orkney. She and her followers subsequently settled in Iceland, which had been discovered by a Norse explorer, perhaps after hearing of it from the Irish or the Picts, for Irish hermits had, as has been stated, previously lived in that island.

King Harold's invasion of the Shetlands, Orkneys, and the Hebrides had stimulated emigration to Iceland. Many of the early settlers were of mixed Norse and Celtic blood. As they built their houses of wood and required wood for their ships, they had, after exhausting local supplies, to import regular supplies of timber, at first from Scotland and later from Norway as well. The elm tree, which flourishes

in northern Scotland and does not grow in Norway, figures prominently in the Helgi and other lays of Iceland.

King Donald "the rough one" appears to have held sway in the Lowlands. Another king named Donald, who ruled over Strathclyde, was probably his nominee and, perhaps, a near relative.

CHAPTER XVII

Scots and Angles as Allies

The next king of the Picts and Scots was the famous Constantine III, son of Aed and grandson of King Kenneth mac Alpin. He reigned for forty-three years (900–43) and then vacated the throne to become a monk.

Constantine was a strong supporter of the Columban Church and, according to Duald MacFirbis, won victories because St. Columba assisted him. We are told that the king and his men " fervently prayed to St. Columba because he was their apostle and because they had received the faith through him ".

In Constantine's sixth year an assembly was held upon the Hill of Belief, near the royal town of Scone, and it was resolved that, as Anderson translates, " the laws and discipline of the faith and the rights in churches and gospels should be kept in conformity with (the customs) of the Scots ". The churchmen's chief representative was Bishop Cellach.

Three years earlier Dunkeld had suffered from a Scandinavian raid, but in the following year (904) the invaders were defeated in Strathearn, and Ivar, Ivar's grandson, was slain.

Duald MacFirbis refers to this battle, and Anderson's translation of his significant statement is worth quoting

because it suggests that a great Columban revival had taken place:

" This is what the men of Scotland did, both clergy and laymen; they continued till morning fasting, and praying to God and to Columcille (St. Columba), and shouting loudly to the Lord; and they gave many charities of food and clothing to the churches and to the poor; and they took the Lord's body from the hands of their priests, and they promised to do every good thing according to the best instructions of their priests, and that Columcille's staff should be their standard in front of every battle. (This staff) was therefore called *Cathbuaid* (' Victory in Battle ') from that time onwards; and it was a fitting name, because they often gained victories in battles through it: even as they did then on that occasion, when they placed their trust in Columcille."

When in 918 Constantine had to fight against another force of Scandinavians in Strathearn, he and his men similarly adored St. Columba. They won a great victory, slaying the leader Ottar, son of Iargna (Iron Knee), and, according to Duald MacFirbis, " it was long after that before the Danes and Scandinavians again attacked them ".

There can be no doubt that Pictland and Dalriada prospered during the long reign of Constantine. *Berchan's Prophecy* visualizes for us a country of good cheer with fruitful trees, an abundance of corn, cattle, and milk, with ale and music in plenty. The king was a hero to his people because he was fortunate in battle, and being a very devout Columban churchman, he was regarded as a man especially favoured by God.

Like his predecessor, Constantine III held the Scandinavians in check, and he appears to have exercised considerable influence to the south of the Forth and Clyde. His brother Donald succeeded Owen as King of Strathclyde. This is the Donald, father of Malcolm, the next Strathclyde

king, who is mentioned in the *Life of St. Catroe* as king of the Cumbrians. He is said to have accompanied Catroe to Leeds, " the boundary of the Northmen and the Cumbrians ".

The Danes had settled down in north-eastern and central England, and when King Alfred died in 901 he was at peace with them. Alfred was succeeded by his son Edward, who in 910 had trouble with the Danes in the north and had also to deal with Viking raids in the southern part of his kingdom. In 912 his brother-in-law, the King of Mercia, died, but the widowed queen, Ethelflæd, proved herself a worthy daughter of Alfred the Great, for she not only held the territory she had inherited, but reduced the Danish power by conquering strong towns and fortresses, including Derby and Leicester, while her brother extended his dominions until he subdued East Anglia. When the " Lady of Mercia " died, Edward occupied her country and subsequently set himself to reduce Northumbria.

Duald MacFirbis tells that Ethelflæd, the famous " Lady of Mercia ", arranged a defensive treaty with the Britons and Scots. It provided that if the Scandinavians attacked one of the contracting states, the others should come to its aid. Mention is made of a Scandinavian raid in Strathclyde, but although the invaders plundered freely, they were prevented from occupying that country.

Bernicia is not mentioned in connexion with this treaty. Its king, whose capital was Bamborough, was till 912 Adulf, who had been King Alfred's friend. He was succeeded by his son Aldred, whose brother Utred was a joint ruler. They are referred to as the friends and allies of King Edward.

The Danes had never settled in Bernicia, but appear to have held its king tributary for a time. Evidently the Picts were still active in this area.

About 915 northern England was invaded by Danish and Norse Vikings, who had been harrying extensively in Ireland. They occupied part of Bernicia under the command of King Ronald, and King Aldred sought the help of King Constantine, who marched southward with a strong army which, no doubt, effected a junction with a Northumbrian force. No resistance of serious character was met with until the allies reached Corbridge. There Ronald, the heathen king, defeated Constantine and caused him to withdraw from St. Cuthbert's lands between the Wear and the Tees.

According to the *Annals of Ulster*, King Constantine next met Ronald's army about 918 on the banks of the Tyne—apparently the Haddingtonshire Tyne. Ronald had deployed his force in four divisions, one of which lay in ambush. The Scots defeated the three which were in sight, but were subsequently attacked by the fourth in the rear. Darkness brought the conflict to an end.

Although the *Annals of Ulster* state that King Ronald was slain, we find that in 919 he captured York. He died in 921.

The fact that King Constantine waged war so far south is a sure indication that he occupied a considerable area of old Bernicia. Indeed, the Lothians had apparently since the time of Constantine II been dominated by the kings of the Picts and Scots.

King Edward was more than a match for King Ronald, for by 921 he compelled the Danes of Northumberland to acknowledge him as their overlord. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, he also received the homage of the kings of Bernicia, the Scots, and Strathclyde, but it is more probable that he simply arranged a treaty of peace with Constantine, who had been in alliance with his sister, the " Lady of Mercia ".

King Edward was succeeded in 925 by his natural son Ethelstan, a proud, courageous man with golden hair, who was an ambitious statesman and a military genius. When his life-work had been completed, he was acclaimed in the *Annals of Ulster* as " the summit of the nobility of the Western world ".

Soon after he came to the throne Northumbria was overrun by Olaf, who is called in the records " a King of Scotland ". Probably he reigned over the Gall-Gaels of Galloway and was influential in some of the western islands. King Ethelstan strengthened his army by employing as mercenaries the piratical adventurers who at the time infested the seacoasts, and he defeated Olaf heavily at the battle of Vinheath, which became the theme of a long saga story. Olaf fled to Scotland, and he ultimately married a daughter of King Constantine, who, like Ethelstan, was ever ready to avail himself of the help of Foreigners to further his own ends.

In 926 King Ethelstan had a meeting at Eamot, in Yorkshire, with Constantine, king of the Picts and Scots, Owen, King of Cumbria (Cumberland), Howel, a Welsh king, and Aldred, King of Bernicia. A treaty of peace was arranged and confirmed by oaths. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* would have it that Ethelstan " governed " the other kings, but when we find it stated that they " renounced all idolatry ", we cannot regard the record as other than misleading. Constantine was not a pagan, and the other kings ruled over Christian states. The thirteenth-century English writers assert that King Ethelstan's allies did homage to him.

For a time the English king's hands were full in connexion with the Danish trouble in the north. When Sigtrygg, " king of the Black and White Foreigners " (Danes and Norsemen), died, his son Guthfrith succeeded him at York,

but he was expelled by King Ethelstan and sought refuge at King Constantine's court.

The relations between Ethelstan and Constantine subsequently became strained. No doubt the refugees in the kingdom of the latter gave trouble on the English coasts and promoted unrest in Northumbria. At anyrate Ethelstan must have had good cause for mobilizing a strong army and large fleet to wage war against his dangerous northern rival. He must have selected an opportune time when the piratical fleets were engaged in widespread operations, for in 934 he suddenly invaded Scotland, wasting and plundering with vigour. According to the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, he reached Edinburgh with his land force, but the *Chronicle of Melrose*, drawing upon English records, tells that he crossed the Forth and penetrated to Dunfoeder (Dunnottar) and Wertermore. According to Watson, Wertermore corresponds to *Magh Fortrenn* ("the Plain of Fortrenn")—that is, Strathearn. Symeon of Durham says that the fleet harried as far north as Caithness.

According to Florence of Worcester, the twelfth-century historian, Ethelstan invaded Scotland because Constantine II broke the treaty of peace, and he compelled that king of the Scots and Picts to give him valuable gifts and to hand over his son as a hostage. His statement that a great part of the land was laid waste is confirmed by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which, however, makes no reference to a battle. Somewhat conflicting accounts of a battle are given by the mediæval writers. According to these, Constantine was heavily defeated in the vicinity of the Forth and compelled to surrender. He subsequently agreed that Scotland should pay tribute to Ethelstan and his successors.

The English king is further said to have remained in Scotland for three years, during which time he subdued

the western islands. Then follows the story that when King Ethelstan returned by way of Dunbar he drew his sword and cleft a rock with a single blow. The historian who tells this fairy story declares that the severed rock, which could be seen by all comers in his day, remained as an unmistakable sign that the Scots had been conquered and subdued by the English. The fact that such a " sign " was located at Dunbar indicates that Constantine held sway in the Lothians.

King Constantine plotted to be avenged on the invader. He formed an alliance with the Vikings of Ireland and the Hebrides, and drew upon the military resources of Strathclyde. Then in the year 937 he invaded England. A fleet of over 600 vessels had been mobilized. The *Chronicle of Melrose* makes Olaf, Constantine's son-in-law, enter the mouth of the Humber with his great force, but it is more probable that he entered the Solway Firth and that Constantine's son-in-law was co-operating with the other Olaf, son of Godfrey, the King of Dublin.

A great battle was fought at Brunanburh—a terrible and lamentable battle, as a record in the *Annals of Ulster* says, and it ended in a complete victory for King Ethelstan. Thousands of the invaders were slain, and among these, according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, were five kinglets and seven earls. Florence of Worcester tells that the conflict began early in the day and continued until evening, when Olaf and Constantine were compelled to flee to their ships. A poem in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that Constantine, " the grey-haired man, the old malignant ", lost a son (Ceallach) in the battle, and that when the fleet returned with the survivors it " sought Dublin and Ireland again ". The battle is declared to be the greatest ever fought on English soil since the coming of the Angles and the Saxons

across the North Sea. But it was not, in the purely racial sense, a battle between Englishmen and Scotsmen, for there were Scandinavians on both sides.

Eric Blood-Axe, son and successor of King Harold of Norway, appears to have settled in England after this battle was fought. He had been deposed in 935 owing to his harshness and cruelty, in which he is said to have been encouraged by his wife Gunhild, a little woman of great beauty but ferocious spirit. His successor was King Hakon the Good, the younger son of Harold Fairhair by his mistress Thora of Moster. Harold was about seventy years old when Hakon was born, and he sent the boy to England to be fostered by King Ethelstan.

When Eric Blood-Axe lost the throne of Norway, he became a viking, harrying the coasts of Scotland and England. King Ethelstan made friendly overtures to him and offered him a portion of Northumbria on condition that he would defend it against all invaders. Eric accepted this offer and consented to be baptized as a Christian. He is said to have been as greatly hated in Northumbria as in Norway, and he was once, perhaps twice, expelled from that state, but he returned again. In the end he was slain while on a piratical expedition either in 950 or 954.

Ethelstan died in 940 and was succeeded by his brother Edmund.

King Constantine III, having grown old and frail, vacated his throne in 943 in favour of Malcolm, son of Donald, and he became the abbot in the St. Andrew's monastery of the culdees (*céli-dé*). According to the *Annals of Ulster*, he died in 952.

King Malcolm mac Donald, in his seventh year, raided England as far south as the river Tees, taking numerous prisoners and many herds of cattle. According to a Scottish

chronicle, Constantine is said to have planned this raid. He asked Malcolm to be allowed to resume the kingship for a week to avenge himself upon the " auld enemy ". Edmund, the Anglian king, had early in his reign to deal with a rising in Danelaw, which made common cause with Northumbria. He was able to suppress the rebels, and after harrying Cumbria, he gave all that country to King Malcolm on condition that he would be his ally on land and sea. This was in 945, and in 952, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, a battle was fought by Foreigners (Vikings) against the Scots, Britons, and English. The *Annals of the Four Masters* say that the Foreigners were victorious.

Malcolm I (Malcolm mac Donald) is referred to in *Berchan's Prophecy* as the " Battle Fury ", apparently a reference to the Irish war god " Bodb Dearg ". During his reign the Vikings were very active around the coasts. There was also trouble in Moray, where a native rising occurred under the leadership of Cellach, but King Malcolm suppressed it, Cellach being slain in battle. In 954 Malcolm was killed in Moray " by treachery ", and he was buried in Iona.

Indulf, the next king, was a son of Constantine III, and during his reign of about eight years (954–62) there were conflicts with Vikings on the east and north-eastern coasts of Scotland. A record tells that the fortress of Eden was evacuated, but whether this refers to Edinburgh, Carriden (Cair Eden), or Eden in Fife is quite uncertain. Nor do we know who were the occupants of the stronghold. A force of Scandinavians was defeated in Buchan, and in another conflict at Invercullen King Indulf was slain. *Berchan's Prophecy* speaks of him as a good king and a worthy son of Constantine's, referring to him as " the Aggressor ".

King Dub (Duff), his successor (962–6), was, after a reign

of about four years, slain by treachery at Forres. Evidently there was much unrest in Moray, where Viking raids must have been frequent.

King Culen (966–71), son of Indulf, was operating in Strathclyde when he met his death. He had wronged a young woman and her father Amdarch set fire to the house in Abington, Lanarkshire, in which the king slept, and he perished in it.

King Kenneth II, son of Malcolm, who next came to the throne, reigned for about twenty-four years (971–95). He was a contemporary of the English king Edgar (959–75), who inherited a kingdom which had been greatly strengthened and pacified by that great ecclesiastical statesman St. Dunstan. Danelaw had been subdued and the coasts were well guarded by Anglian fleets. The Danes were allowed to retain their laws in Yorkshire and Northumbria, and, as Green shows, Dunstan " employed Danes in the royal service and promoted them to high posts in Church and State ". Trade with the Continent was in a flourishing condition, and a revival of religious activity was accompanied by a revival of learning.

A treaty of peace was arranged between Kenneth and Edgar. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Edgar held a great conference at Chester, where he met six kings, and they all covenanted with him that they would be his allies by sea and land. The twelfth-century English historians assumed that the other rulers acknowledged Edgar as their overlord, but this was a manifest exaggeration. Edgar is represented, however, as anxious to conciliate the King of Scotland, for he is said to have presented to him a hundred ounces of gold, many robes and ornaments, and many precious stones. He also " gave him Lothian ", which may simply mean that he recognized King Kenneth's claim to

the eastern Lowlands of Scotland, which, since the battle of Nechtansmere, had been mainly under Scoto-Pictish control. Bernicia had shrunk to small dimensions, and its Anglian under-kings were merely Lords of Bamborough. With the exception of Ethelstan, no Anglo-Saxon king had for a long period been able to make his power felt in Lothian, because the Danish kingdom in northern England formed a buffer state between it and the territory ruled by Anglian kings.

The kingdom of Kenneth II extended from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth. Strathclyde was a vassal state, and although there were Norse settlements in Caithness, its rulers appear to have acknowledged Kenneth as overlord.

Although King Harold Fairhair of Norway had formally annexed the Orkneys and Shetlands, he had secured no hold upon the mainland. This is made manifest by his recorded dealings with Torf Einar, Earl of Orkney. When Einar slew Halfdan Hálegg, a son of the Norwegian king, that monarch came west with a strong fleet. Einar fled to Caithness, where he was safe, and Harold had to make terms with him, simply imposing a fine for his son's death.

Earl Thorfinn, son of Torf Einar, married a daughter of Duncan, Earl of Caithness. One of his sons, whose name was Skúli, was made an earl by King Kenneth. This roused the jealousy of his brother Liót, who raised an army and drove Skúli out of Orkney and Caithness.

At this time Macbeth, perhaps the maternal ancestor of the Macbeth who became King of Scotland, was Mormaer (" Sea Lord ") of Moray. He provided Skúli with an army, and a fierce battle was fought in Caithness. Liót won a victory and Skúli was slain. According to the *Orkney Saga*, there was after that time great enmity between the Scottish king and Liót. Macbeth was sent into Caithness with a

strong force, but although Liót set up a brave defence he was mortally wounded and died soon after the battle, which had been quite a brief one.

Hlódve, another son of Thorfinn, next became Earl of Orkney. He married Edna, daughter of the Irish king Kiarval, and their son was Sigurd the Stout. It appears that Hlódve had become Mormaer of Caithness under the Scottish king, for when he died "of disease" he was buried at Höfn in that county.

In Kenneth's fifteenth year a Danish invasion of Dalriada was repulsed, no fewer than 140 prisoners being hanged. Iona suffered severely, however, for on Christmas night in 986 it was plundered by Danes, who slew the abbot and fifteen monks. The *Annals of Ulster* tell of the slaughter in the following year of 360 Danes who had plundered Iona. Their violation of the Columban holy place must have created widespread horror not only among the Celtic peoples in Scotland and Ireland but the Christianized Norsemen of Dublin and the Hebrides.

Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, was increasing his power in the north. He had inherited the mormaership of Caithness, but appears to have regarded that area as a personal possession. Norway was kingless from 970 till 995, being ruled by Earl Hakon, to whom Sigurd owed no allegiance. When we find Sigurd raiding Sutherland, Ross, and Moray, it becomes evident that he did not regard himself as a subject of the Scottish king. He was an ambitious man, and later we find him aspiring to become the king of Ireland.

Macbeth, Mormaer of Moray, was succeeded by Findlaech (Finlay), son of Ruadri, and father of the Macbeth who was to become king of Scotland. He attempted to curb the growing power of Sigurd, but suffered defeat in the battle of Skidmoor in Caithness. Sigurd had the aid of

Vikings from Iceland, including the sons of Njal (Neil), a descendant of an Irish family, as his name indicates. This famous Icelandic " Neil " is celebrated in the famous *Saga of the Burnt Njal.*

King Kenneth II appears to have been assassinated in Angus, but the circumstances attending his death are obscure. His slayer is said to have been Finella, daughter of Cuncar (Connachar), the hereditary Mormaer of Angus. Her grievance against the king was that he had slain her son. Her name is a rendering of *Finnghuala* (" white shouldered ").

A war of succession was waged after Kenneth's death. Constantine the Bald, son of Culen (Constantine IV), came to the throne, but after a reign of only a year and a half he was slain in battle at the mouth of the river Almond. His opponent Kenneth, son of Malcolm, was also slain.

Kenneth III, son of Dub, was the next king, and after reigning for about eight years he was slain in battle at Monzievaird, between Crieff and Comrie. His opponent was Malcolm, son of Kenneth II and grandson of Malcolm I, who was the great-grandson of King Kenneth mac Alpin. Kenneth III himself was a grandson of Malcolm I and the first cousin of his slayer's father.

According to Fordun, King Kenneth II had decided that the complicated system of succession should come to an end and that after his time a son should succeed a father. He was therefore hated by the princes of the royal line, and it may have been owing to their plottings that he was slain by Finella. His son Malcolm II appears, however, to have been the type of king of whom Scotland was in need, for he proved himself a great ruler and general in a time of peril when the very existence of Scotland as an independent nation was being threatened by the Danes.

CHAPTER XVIII

Triumph of Celtic Scotland

Three great events in the history of northern Europe occurred in the early part of the eleventh century. In 1014 the question of the sovereignty of Ireland was decided by the defeat of the Norsemen at the battle of Clontarf; in 1016 King Canute (Cnut) completed the conquest of England, which became part of the kingdom of Denmark; and in 1018 King Malcolm II won the decisive battle of Carham, shattering the Anglo-Danish power of Northumbria and finally incorporating the entire Lowlands in the Scoto-Pictish kingdom. Malcolm subsequently secured his overlordship of the Orkneys and Shetlands. When Thorfinn, during a visit to Norway, was asked by King Olaf to recognize his suzerainty, that famous Earl of Orkney, the most powerful of his line, made answer, according to the *Orkney Saga*, " I cannot well pay you homage, as I am already an Earl of the King of the Scots and his vassal ". Olaf forced an unwilling mouth allegiance from young Thorfinn, who did not, however, regard it as binding. Olaf himself was soon afterwards dethroned by Canute, who added Norway to his dominions.

Although all hope of Norse supremacy in Ireland was shattered by the Celtic victory of Clontarf, the Norse kingdom of Dublin remained intact, as did also other Norse colonies. The " fair strangers " and " dark strangers " who

elected to remain in Ireland were finally incorporated in its Irish-speaking population. Their language perished so completely that only a few place-names like Waterford and Wexford have survived, a fact which emphasizes how perilous it is to be guided by linguistic evidence alone in dealing with the migrations, settlements, and fusions of races.

England was united finally by King Canute. He suppressed the old rivalries of Mercia, Northumberland, Wessex, and East Anglia, and, as Green puts it, " drew closer than of old the ties which bound the rulers of these great dependencies to the Crown ", while " he even identified himself with the patriotism which had withstood the stranger ". Anglo-Saxon England began to feel the benefit of that unity which had been the aim of the dynasty of Alfred and had long been employed in Scotland north of the Forth under the centralized government of Pictish kings whose political ideals were perpetuated by King Kenneth mac Alpin and his successors.

In Ireland, on the other hand, King Brian's vision of a united kingdom was not shared by the rulers who followed him. There was no lack of national feeling, but that unifying influence was countered by a similarly conservative adherence to national traditions of government. King Brian fell at Clontarf, and Mael Sechnaill held the high kingship until his death in 1022. Then for half a century Ireland was again a country of petty states, as had been, except for comparatively short intervals, Anglo-Saxon England prior to the Danish conquest. " Towards the end of the century," writes MacNeill, " the (Irish) monarchy is restored, going now always to the strong hand—two O'Briens from Thomond, two O'Connors from Connacht, and two O'Lochlainns from Tyrone: an irregular hegemony, without even the semblance of an institution."

It must be quite manifest to the unprejudiced mind that the racial question has no real bearing on the question of the system of government. Celtic Ireland could not achieve that permanent union, under a strong centralized government, which was accomplished by a Celtic king in Celtic Scotland, and Anglo-Saxon England required a Danish conqueror to weld its rival states into one and give its people peace and prosperity.

There can be no doubt as to why Scotland gave England and Ireland the lead in the science of government, and why great kings like Oswald and Oswy, who had been educated in Scotland, became men of large vision. In Scotland the Caledonians, and their successors the Picts, had in measuring their strength against Rome learned by experience that national independence is to be achieved by national unity. The Pictish system of government by kings, to whom the mormaers were subject, made possible Scotland's notable resistance to Scandinavian aggression and also the final establishment of a united Scotland from the Cheviots to the Shetlands under the Celtic kingship of Malcolm II, who is referred to in the *Annals of Tigernach* as " the honour of all the west of Europe ".

In *Berchan's Prophecy* we find Malcolm spoken of as " the florid one ", as a " good king ", " a heavy battler of a strong people ", and a " destroyer of foreigners ". Of especial interest is the fact that he is said to have been " a Leinster woman's son ". Apparently Kenneth II had contracted a political marriage with a princess of the kingdom of Leinster, which maintained an alliance with the Norse kingdom of Dublin. Earl Sigurd's mother, Edna, was likewise an Irish lady of high birth, the daughter of the Irish king Kiarval (Cerball), and it may be that she was related to the queen of Malcolm II.

King Malcolm II began to reign in 1005 and he died in 1034. He came to the throne as the victor of a family feud, having, as we have seen, slain his second cousin Kenneth III, known as " the Grim " or " the Graeme ". The year of his accession was a terrible one in England, for, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, that unhappy country suffered from a terrible famine. Ethelred the Unready (or the Heedless), who began to reign in 979, had to wage a terrible struggle with hordes of Scandinavian Vikings, and he endeavoured to enlist the help of the Normans by marrying Emma, daughter of Richard I, Duke of Normandy, and sister of Richard II, the grandfather of William the Conqueror.

Svein, King of Denmark, and Olaf Tryggvisson, who was to become King of Norway, took part in these raids, and enormous sums of money were paid to bribe them to make terms of peace. Ethelred attempted to form a standing army by employing Scandinavian mercenaries, but he was unable to keep these adventurers in hand. During an interval of comparative peace, which was secured by heavy bribes as " tribute ", Ethelred consented to the wholesale massacre of Danes, and it took place on St. Brice's day, 12th November, 1002.

King Svein raised a great army to avenge this act of treachery, and the war of real conquest then began. The Danes swept like a forest fire into East Anglia, sacking towns, plundering holy places, slaughtering young and old without mercy, and laying waste the country. The famine of 1005 brought their operations to a halt, but in the following year they were ravaging in Kent and Sussex.

Malcolm II must have had hopes of adding Northumberland to his kingdom, for in 1006 he crossed the Tweed with a large army and swept southward. He did not pause at

the strong fortress of Bamborough, in which Waldeve, the aged earl, had shut himself, but pushed on to Durham, which he besieged. He paid dearly for his rashness. Utred, the elder son of Waldeve, mobilized a force of Northumbrians and, attacking Malcolm, defeated him heavily. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, the Scots lost many good men. We gather from Symeon of Durham that Utred had the heads of many of the slain Scots set up on stakes around the walls of Durham. The interesting detail is given that, according to the fashion of the time, the Scots nobles had their hair braided.

In 1016 King Canute, son and successor of King Svein, had completed the conquest of England. Ethelred died a natural death, and his natural son Edmund Ironside, after arranging a treaty of peace with Canute, passed away suddenly. Perhaps, as has been suggested, he was poisoned by the enemy.

Earl Utred had espoused the cause of the Danes, but Canute, who could not trust him, caused him to be put to death. He was succeeded in the earldom by his brother Adulf, who, according to a chronicle preserved by Symeon of Durham, was both cowardly and timorous. Fearing that King Malcolm II would seek to avenge the disaster of 1006, he granted him the whole of Lothian, for the purpose of securing peace. Thus, according to an Anglian record, Lothian was once more ceded to Scotland. As we have seen, it had already been " given " to King Kenneth II by King Edgar (959–75). Apparently some of the English chroniclers have " protested too much " in this connexion.

In 1018 King Malcolm again invaded the earldom of Northumbria, the northern boundary of which had for long been the Tweed. His army included a force of Britons under the

command of Owen the Bald, the vassal king of Strathclyde. A decisive victory was won at Carham, and, according to a record given by Symeon of Durham, " almost the whole people, including their nobility, between the Tweed and the Tees, were slain ". The *Annals of Durham* tell that this disaster was heralded by the appearance of a comet, and that among the slain were eighteen priests who had foolishly taken part in the war. Bishop Aldhun died from grief a few days after the battle, and his see remained vacant for about three years.

The peace, which was subsequently arranged by mutual agreement, could not have left King Canute unconcerned. Rodulfus Glaber, the eleventh-century historian, cannot be ignored in this connexion, although his records may be otherwise somewhat confused and embroidered with fable. He tells that Canute went northward with a large army to subdue the Scots, but found Malcolm strong in arms and resources and a good Christian. After a time, owing to the intervention of Richard II of Normandy, Canute arranged a friendly treaty with Malcolm, and became the godfather of the son of that Scots king. But this final touch is evidently fabulous, for Malcolm II had no son.

Attempts were subsequently made, by tampering with the records, to establish the claim that Malcolm submitted to Canute and became " his man ". Edward I, in his letter of 1301 to Pope Boniface VIII, asserted that Scotland had not only been held " in subjection " by King Canute, but also by Edmund Ironside, Ethelred, Edward, and Edgar, and after Canute's time by Harold and " Harthacnut ". When, however, Saxo Grammaticus, the Danish churchman, wrote his history of Denmark in the thirteenth century, he did not include Scotland among the kingdoms which were subject to Canute. Nor does Canute himself in a

letter which he wrote when returning to Denmark from Rome during his pilgrimage of 1031. Florence of Worcester, the twelfth-century English historian, who drew on earlier sources, and the *Chronicle of Melrose* make no mention of a submission of King Malcolm to King Canute. The assertion that Canute was overlord of the Scottish Lothians was, however, made in Norway when King Olaf the Saint was called upon to acknowledge Canute as his superior, but it appears to have been nothing more than a diplomatic fiction, and this may account for the saga references in the same connexion. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, of which different versions have been preserved with interpolations and omissions, especially for the eleventh century, makes Canute, on his return from Rome in 1031, visit Scotland to receive the submission of King Malcolm and also of two other kings named Macbeth and Jehmar, but adds that Canute held Malcolm's allegiance for " a little while only ". This confused statement disagrees with that which refers to the representations made to King Olaf of Norway, who was dethroned in 1028 and died in 1030, the year before Canute visited Rome. King Canute died in 1035.

Much light has been thrown on the Lothian problem by Watson in his *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*. He shows that a number of significant place-names indicate that many Britons survived between the Forth and the Tweed during the Anglian period, and that from about the middle of the tenth century the Gaelic language became current in this area. There is evidence of the settlement of Gaelic-speaking communities in what are now known as the " Border counties " and of proprietors with distinctive Gaelic names, including Macbeth of Liberton and Gillomichael. The latter is mentioned by Symeon of Durham, who knew that the name meant " Lad of Michael ", but considered it

should have been " Lad of the Devil " on account of Gillomichael's lack of respect for the Anglian churchman. No doubt Gillomichael was a Columban. Gaelic personal names occur in the Allerdale district of Cumberland in an English document of the eleventh century referred to by Watson. King Malcolm II seems to have completed the Scottish conquest of Lothian by expelling the Anglian lairds and farmers and giving their lands to Gaelic-speaking people. The present-day Scotts of the Border counties are, as MacNeill and other Celtic scholars agree, descendants of the Gaelic-speaking colonists who were settled in the Lowlands during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

During the interval between his defeat near Durham and the battle of Carham, King Malcolm II found it necessary to attend to the welfare of the northern part of his kingdom.

The extent of the area controlled by Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, has been greatly exaggerated by some writers. He inherited the earldom of Caithness, and thus became the nominal subject of the king of the Picts and Scots. In 995 he was visited by Olaf Tryggvisson, who, as we have seen, had been living the life of a Viking and had been converted to Christianity by a hermit of the Scilly Isles. Olaf was proceeding to Norway to claim the throne, and he caught Sigurd at a disadvantage. He compelled the earl to become a Christian and swear allegiance to him, and he took away as a hostage Sigurd's son Hund (Whelp). When several years later Hund died, Sigurd, according to *Saint Olaf's Saga*, " showed no obedience or fealty to King Olaf ". That King of Norway perished in a famous naval battle in the year 1000.

About 995 Sigurd defeated Finlay (Findlaech), father of the famous Macbeth and Mormaer of Moray, in the battle of Skidmoor in Caithness, to which reference has already

been made. It has been asserted that Finlay was independent of Malcolm II, but he appears to have married that king's sister. Macbeth is referred to in the *Chronicle of Huntingdon* as the nephew of Malcolm.

King Malcolm II must have come to an agreement with Sigurd, to whom he gave one of his daughters to be his second wife. Sigurd gave no further trouble to the Scottish king, but proceeded to plot with Sigtrygg, the Norse king of Dublin, and Gilli, the Hebridean earl, to conquer Ireland and become its high king. Before he set out on his Irish expedition, which terminated in his defeat and death at the battle of Clontarf, Sigurd sent Thorfinn, then a boy of five, to the Scottish court to be cared for by his grandfather, King Malcolm II.

When the Scottish king heard of Sigurd's death, he appointed Thorfinn Earl of Caithness and Sutherland, and chose good men to rule the land for him. It is manifest, therefore, that when Sigurd married the Scottish princess, he must have acknowledged King Malcolm as his overlord in Caithness and Sutherland, and that was why Thorfinn subsequently declared to the King of Norway that he could not be that monarch's "vassal for service", being "an earl of the Scottish king", to whom he owed fealty.

Malcolm seems also to have established his power over the Inner Hebrides, for in *Berchan's Prophecy* he is referred to as "voyager of Islay and Arran". The Strathclyde kingdom, which extended into Cumberland, was ruled by his grandson Duncan, son of Crinan, the powerful lay abbot of Dunkeld, and Malcolm's daughter Bethoc. Owen the Bald, who led the force of Britons in the battle of Carham, died in the same year (1018).

In the thirtieth year of his reign (1034), Malcolm II died after being wounded in a conflict with the Moray

family. A feud connected apparently with the right of succession to the Scottish throne had long been smouldering in the north. In 1020 Finlay the mormaer was slain by his nephews, the sons of Mælbrigte, and nine years later (1029) we find mention of the death of Malcolm, son of Mælbrigte, who claimed to be King of Scotland. In 1032 Gillacomgain, another son of Mælbrigte, who is referred to as Mormaer of Moray, was burned with fifty followers; and in the following year Malcolm II slew the grandson of Boite, son of Kenneth III. Gillacomgain had married Gruoch, a daughter of Boite, and that lady subsequently married Macbeth. To many she is known as Shakespeare's " Lady Macbeth ".

It was evidently because Duncan, son of Crinan, the Atholl noble, had been selected by King Malcolm as his successor to the throne that the Moray branch of the royal family were in revolt. They had, as indicated, been previously loyal to King Malcolm II.

Duncan succeeded his grandfather, Malcolm II, as King of Scotland and reigned for fewer than six years (1034–40). The *Annals of Tigernach* state that he was killed by his subjects at an " immature age ". It is certain he was a younger man than Macbeth. Duncan's father, Crinan, was killed in a battle " between Scots " in 1045—that is, five years after Macbeth came to the throne.

Duncan had married a sister of Siward, the Dane, and, when he died, his two sons Malcolm and Donald were mere children. It is apparent, therefore, that we should dismiss from our minds the Shakespearean vision of an aged and grey-bearded King Duncan, who made " Lady Macbeth " think of her father as he lay asleep. Tradition has nothing to tell of his personal appearance, but it affords us glimpses of his Danish ally and brother-in-law and of

his Celtic kinsman and rival. According to Henry of Huntingdon, Siward was " almost a giant in stature, strong of hand and strong of mind ", while in *Berchan's Prophecy* Macbeth is pictured as a tall man with a ruddy complexion and light yellow hair, and referred to as the " furious red one " but yet a " generous king " who made Scotland feel " joyful ". He was manifestly a very different man from the stage Macbeth.

King Duncan may well have incurred the displeasure of his more influential subjects by introducing into his court his wife's Danish relatives. Like his grandfather before him and his son after him, he had dreams of adding to his kingdom the remnant of the old Anglo-Celtic state of Bernicia. He was probably assisted by his Danish relatives when in 1039 he raided northern England and laid siege to Durham. According to the *Annals of Durham*, Duncan was defeated by the besieged and sustained great losses. A record preserved by Symeon of Durham states that many of his cavalry were slain and that most of his infantry perished during his confused retreat.

About a year later Siward avenged this disaster, for Symeon of Durham tells that he defeated and slew Adulf, son of Utred, and made himself earl of the Northumbrians.

King Duncan's fate had, however, been sealed. The losses he had sustained in his Durham campaign involved a serious drain on his military resources, and he was unable to suppress a revolt which broke out in the northern part of his kingdom. The leader was Macbeth, and Duncan appears to have been slain in a battle which was fought in the vicinity of Elgin.

Macbeth at once seized the throne, to which he had a double claim as the nephew of Malcolm II and the husband of the princess Gruoch. He reigned for seventeen years

(1040–57), and, according to *Berchan's Prophecy*, Scotland prospered and was " brimful " under his rule. A record in the *Chronicle of Melrose* says that the seasons during his reign were " fruitful ". Commerce must have flourished, for Macbeth acquired considerable wealth. No doubt this was due in no small measure to the suppression of Scandinavian piracy in the North Sea after Canute had united England, Denmark, and Norway under his sway.

Macbeth's supremacy was threatened, as has been indicated, by a rising in Atholl in 1045 under the leadership of Crinan, Duncan's father, who was, however, defeated and slain. Nine years later Earl Siward invaded Scotland with a fleet and a land force of mounted men. The English records assert that he put Macbeth to flight and captured a great deal of booty. Both Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury credit him, however, with the conquest of Cumbria, the old kingdom of Strathclyde, over which he set as king Malcolm Canmore, son of Duncan. Henry of Huntingdon tells that during this campaign Siward's son Osbarn was slain. When the news of his death was carried to the earl, he asked if the young warrior had been wounded in front or behind. " In front," he was told. Then Siward exclaimed, " I rejoice because of that, for I would regard my son or myself worthier of no meaner death ".

Four years earlier (1050) Macbeth went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and there he is said to have scattered money " like seed ", his beneficiaries being the poor. Earl Thorfinn visited Rome about the same time, and it has been suggested that he accompanied Macbeth, the two men being close friends and allies. He first went to Norway. King Magnus, whom he had consistently refused to serve as a vassal, was dead and, having left no son, was succeeded by King Harold

Hardruler, the only surviving descendant in the male line of Harold Fairhair. The earl was well received by the new king. He afterwards visited King Svein in Alaborg and the Emperor Heinrek in Saxland. From the latter he received horses which enabled him to ride overland to Italy. If Macbeth accompanied him, it is possible that the two friends were on a diplomatic as well as a religious tour.

Thorfinn's relations with his first cousin, King Duncan I, are somewhat obscure. The *Orkney Saga* states that after King Malcolm II died the throne was seized by Karl or Kali Hundason, who wished to remove Thorfinn from the earldom of Caithness, appointing Moddan in his place. Thorfinn, however, expelled Moddan by force, and thereafter the King of Scotland came north with an army and a fleet of eleven warships. Thorfinn won a naval victory in the Pentland Firth, and King Karl fled to Breida fiord (Broad Firth = the Moray Firth). Thorkel, Thorfinn's ally, slew Moddan in Caithness and afterwards joined forces with Thorfinn in Moray. A battle was fought at Torfness (Tarbatness) on the southern side of the Moray Firth, and King Karl was defeated. Thorfinn is said to have subsequently raided Scotland as far south as Fife. Then he returned to Caithness, where he spent the winter. If Karl Hundason was King Duncan, Thorfinn may have been co-operating with Macbeth, his mother's first cousin.

When Thorfinn died he possessed, according to the *Orkney Saga*, eleven earldoms in Scotland, including that of Galloway. The fact that during the early part of Macbeth's reign (1041–2) he invaded England, suggests that he was not friendly to Siward. In the Orkneys he gradually increased his power until he became sole earl. The year of his death is uncertain, but if he lived longer than Macbeth he may have come to an understanding with Malcolm

Canmore (Malcolm III). Thorfinn is sharply characterized in the *Orkney Saga* as " a man of very large stature, uncomely, sharp-featured, dark-haired and sallow and swarthy in his complexion . . . a most martial-looking man of great energy; greedy of wealth and of renown; bold and successful in war and a great strategist ". His mother, as we have seen, was a Scot; his paternal grandmother was an Irishwoman.

Earl Siward died in 1055, and his successor in the earldom of Northumbria was Tostig son of Godwin, the nominee of Edward the Confessor (son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma, the Norman lady).

In 1057 Malcolm Canmore defeated Macbeth in battle at Lumphanan. Macbeth subsequently died of wounds and was buried in Iona. Lulach, his wife's son, was recognized in the north as his successor, but was slain in the following year in Strathbogie. According to the *Annals of Tigernach*, Lulach was killed by treachery. He, like Macbeth, was buried in Iona.

When Lulach fell, Malcolm Canmore became sole King of Scotland.

CHAPTER XIX

The Age of Queen Margaret

The Scoto-Pictish dynasty of King Kenneth mac Alpin lasted for a period of about four and a half centuries—that is, from 843 till the death of Margaret, the infant granddaughter of Alexander III, in 1290.

During the first two centuries the Scottish kingdom grew larger and stronger, resisting the Scandinavians and overcoming the Angles in the eastern Lowlands. It was essentially a Celtic kingdom governed by Gaelic kings until the time of Malcolm III (1059–93). Then its unity was disturbed by the Normans, whose direct influence in court circles dates from the reign of Edgar (1097–1107), son of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret. That king had been enthroned by the Normans, displacing his nephew William, son of King Duncan II and grandson of Malcolm Canmore and Queen Ingibiorg. The northern and western Celtic parts of the kingdom were antagonist to Norman influence and espoused in opposition to it the cause of the descendants of Duncan II. Norse influence was revived, and the northern and western nationalists regarded it with more favour than they did the Norman. Indeed, the old Gaelic families in the west, and especially in the Hebrides, encouraged the Norse kings to claim the overlordship of the west, which had been revived by Magnus Barelegs as the near relative through Queen Ingibiorg of the murdered King Duncan II. William the Lion, who was regarded as a

foreigner—one of "the Frenchmen"—had to reconquer northern Scotland. His son, Alexander II, and his grandson, Alexander III, took steps to conciliate the western and northern magnates, and in doing so elevated them to the status of the Norman or Normanized barons elsewhere in the kingdom. The ultimate result was a reunited Scotland in which the ancient Celtic influence was revived. King Alexander III was crowned as a Gaelic king, and he and his Celticized barons became fosterers of Scotland's ancient Celtic sense of nationality and that profound love of liberty and justice which made possible the Scottish War of Independence. The national ideals of the Scottish people were subsequently given expression in Barbour's inspiring lyrical outburst in his epic *The Bruce*:

A! fredome is a noble thing!
Fredome mays man to haiff liking;
Fredome all solace to man giffis:
He levys at es that frely levys.
A noble hart may haiff nane es,
Na ellys nocht that may him ples
Gyff fredome failyhe: for fre liking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.

Na he, that ay has levyt fre,
May nocht knaw well the propyrte,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome
That is cowplyt to foule thryldome.
Bot gyff he had assayit it,
That all perquer he suld it wyt;
And suld think fredome mar to prys
Than all the gold in warld that is.
. . . . . .
And he that thryll is has nocht his;
All that he has enbandownyt is
Till hys lord, quhat-ever he be.
Yheyt has he nocht sa mekill fre
As fre liking to leyve, or do
That at hys hart hym drawis to.

Ah! freedom is a noble thing!
What choice to man doth freedom bring!
Freedom all solace to man gives;
He lives at ease who freely lives.
A noble heart can have no ease
And nothing else that will him please
If freedom fail: what freedom brings
Is yearned for o'er all other things.

Now, he who ever has lived free
Knows little of the misery,
The anger and the wretched doom
That coupled is with foul thraldom.
But if he had endured this state,
And knew full well its sorrows great,
He would think freedom of more worth
Than all the gold upon the earth.
. . . . . .
The thrall has nothing that is his,
All that he ownes abandoned is
To his hard lord whoe'er he be;
Yet he was naught so greatly free
As the free right to live and do
Just as his heart may prompt him to.

The typical Scot of whom Barbour sang was one who, in his own words, "ay has levyt fre", and, as we have seen,

his battles for freedom date back till the Roman period. Scotland's most glorious Celtic heritage is its love of freedom and independence.

When in 1058 Malcolm Canmore came to the throne as the descendant of Kenneth mac Alpin, being a great-grandson of Malcolm II, his first concern was for the unity of his kingdom. If Earl Thorfinn was not already dead, he died soon afterwards, and, according to saga evidence, his earldoms lapsed, the people in each area "seeking for themselves the protection of native chiefs". King Malcolm married the earl's widow, Ingibiorg, who was related to the royal house of Norway, and she bore to him at least two sons, Duncan and Donald, and perhaps a third, named Malcolm, whose name appears on a charter of 1094. The sons of Ingibiorg and Thorfinn were Paul and Erlend, who succeeded to the earldom of Orkney.

Malcolm's marriage with Ingibiorg,[1] a descendant of King Harold Fairhair through his great-grandson King Sigurd Sow, must have greatly increased his prestige in the Orkneys and Shetlands and also in the Hebrides and Galloway. Their children were, indeed, in the event of Paul and Erlend dying without issue, heirs to the earldom of Orkney. The fact that King Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane, went to the Hebrides suggests that he became in that area a ruler who was subject to the King of Scotland. Both Malcolm and Donald were the half-Danish sons of the sister of Siward, Earl of Northumbria.

Malcolm's epithet "Canmore" (Gaelic *ceannmhór*) signifies "big headed" or "high headed", and had no reference to his kingship, but rather to a distinctive physical character. As much is made evident by his Norse nickname, which is given in the *Orkney Saga* as *Langhals*, "long neck".

[1] The Icelandic pronunciation is *ing'e-byeerg"*.

Evidently Malcolm's head was of the round and lofty Danish type, flattened at the back so that his neck seemed to extend above his ears. This type of head is not uncommon in some areas in modern Scotland.

Earl Siward died about 1055, and Edward the Confessor, King of England, son of Ethelred the Unready and Emma the Norman, gave the earldom to Tostig, brother of the Harold who succeeded the Confessor as king. Malcolm appears to have regarded himself as heir to the earldom of Northumbria, but he made peace with Earl Tostig and became his " sworn brother ". In 1059, according to the *Annals of Durham*, Tostig and two churchmen, Kinsi, Archbishop of York, and Ethelwin, Bishop of Durham, conducted King Malcolm to King Edward of England. Two years later, however, when Tostig was on a visit to Rome, Malcolm harried Northumbria. When in 1066 Tostig was driven out of Northumbria because of his atrocities and his disloyalty to Edward, he fled to Scotland, where he was protected by Malcolm. Both had Danish mothers and were concerned in the Northumbrian problem. Tostig subsequently went to the Continent. He appealed in vain for assistance to his kinsman Swen, King of Denmark, but found favour with Harold, King of Norway, who promised to put to sea with a great fleet and help him to recover his position of influence in English politics.

Edward the Confessor died in 1066 and was succeeded by his brother-in-law Harold, the brother of Tostig. Harold divested Edward's Norman favourites of their political power and refused to recognize as binding an oath of fealty which William, Duke of Normandy, had compelled him to swear after he had been forced by bad weather to land upon the French coast. He also refused to acknowledge the right of the Roman Catholic Church tribunal, which

sat at Rome, to decide who should be King of England. This tribunal supported the claim of William, Duke of Normandy, although Harold's cause was not heard.

The Norman conquest of England might never have been accomplished if Harold's brother Tostig had been a real English patriot. He had assembled a fleet of pirates, but could have done little harm had not King Harold of Norway come to his aid with a fleet and army. The Norwegians first made for Orkney, where they received reinforcements. Paul and Erlend, King Malcolm's stepsons, joined the expedition, but did not take part in the fighting. According to the *Orkney Saga*, they were tall, wise-looking men of gentle disposition, resembling their mother's relations and very unlike their swarthy and fierce father, Earl Thorfinn.

A junction was effected with Tostig's ships on the eastern coast of Scotland. Then the allies sailed for Northumbria. They landed at Cleveland and captured and burned Scarborough. A battle was fought at Fulford on Wednesday, 20th September, and the Anglo-Danes suffered defeat. York surrendered on the following Sunday, and the army then moved on to Stamford Bridge.

Next morning King Harold of England suddenly appeared at York with a numerous and mobile force, and, pushing on to Stamford Bridge, he took the Norse army by surprise, defeating it completely. Tostig and the King of Norway were both slain. Olaf, son of the deceased king, made peace with the English victor and then departed with his fleet and the remnant of his army. He wintered in Orkney with Paul and Erlend, who were his near kinsmen, for his mother Thora and their mother Ingibiorg were the daughters of two brothers.

Three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge William

the Conqueror landed with his army at Hastings, meeting with no opposition. Tostig and the Norwegians had prevented King Harold giving him a hot reception and in all probability driving him back to Normandy. The English king was at York, suffering from a wound he had received in the battle of Stamford Bridge, but as soon as he heard of the Norman landing he hastened southward with his army, which was less than a fourth the size of that of William. A fierce conflict took place near Hastings, but although the English fought bravely and stubbornly they were ultimately overwhelmed and Harold was slain. The reduction of southern England followed, there being no outstanding man to act as leader and rally the forces opposed to Norman supremacy.

Northern England remained hostile to William the Conqueror, and it is significant to find that in the *Domesday Book*, containing the Norman census of 1086, Northumberland, Durham, Westmorland, and a great part of Cumberland were not included.

Scotland became the refuge of many of William's enemies, and the most notable of these were Edgar Etheling, his mother Agatha, and his two sisters Margaret and Christina.

Edgar was a claimant to the throne of England, but had submitted to the Conqueror. He was the grandson of Edmund Ironside and grand-nephew of Edward the Confessor. William of Malmesbury, however, reminds us that Edmund was not a son of Emma, the Norman wife of Ethelred the Unready and afterwards of King Canute, " but of some other person whom fame has left in obscurity ". We do not know whether this woman was an Angle, Saxon, or Dane, but she was not Ethelred's wife. Edmund secretly took as his own wife the widow of the Danish Northumbrian noble Sigeferth, who had been lured to Ethelred's court and there made drunk and murdered. Edmund Ironside

left two children, Edmund and Edward; they were banished from England by King Canute. King Olaf of Sweden, who first received them, sent the children to Hungary, where they were cared for by King Stephen I, the first Magyar ruler who was really a Christian.

When the exiles grew up they married. Edmund is believed to have married a daughter of King Stephen, but he died soon afterwards, leaving no issue. Edward married Agatha, a Bavarian lady and a relative of Queen Gisela, and their children were Edgar and his two sisters Margaret and Christina. It is assumed that Margaret, who became Queen of Scotland, was born about 1046. She is usually referred to as " a Saxon princess ", but she was really of mixed descent.

When Edward the Confessor was growing old, Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, who had spent about thirty-four years in Hungary, came to England with his wife and family. He was unable to speak the English of his time, and the same disability was shared by his foreign wife and his children. Edward died soon after his arrival. His son Edgar was passed over when Edmund the Confessor died, Harold, the half Dane and brother of the Confessor's wife, being, as we have seen, crowned instead. The chroniclers represent Edgar as a weak-minded man who was easily fooled, but that reputation may have been due to the fact that he could hardly speak the English language. Margaret and her sister had more ability, and appear to have acquired the language of the court of Edward the Confessor, which was Norman-French, as well as the language of the masses of the people. It is unlikely, however, that they ever lost their foreign accent.

In 1068 Edgar, his foreign mother, and his two sisters sought refuge in Scotland and were hospitably received

by King Malcolm. A Norman chronicler (Orderic Vital) refers to a plot to murder the Norman soldiers when they walked unarmed and barefooted to the churches of England as penitents. Edgar was concerned in it, and when the plot was discovered he and other leaders took flight to escape the vengeance of William the Conqueror.

The Northumbrians waged war against the Normans and massacred their garrisons in Durham and elsewhere. In 1069 a Danish fleet came to the aid of the Northumbrians, and the castle of York was captured, the Norman garrison being put to the sword.

King William bribed the Danes to leave England, and when they had departed he moved northward with a strong army. York was recaptured and Edgar and his allies again forced to take flight. Large areas were plundered and laid waste. The chroniclers declare that every living creature—human and bestial—between York and the North Sea suffered death. All the villages and farm buildings between the Humber and the Tyne were set on fire and the crops destroyed. Celtic monasteries and churches were ravaged without mercy. Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire also suffered severely. William, in the old Roman manner, " made a desolation and called it peace ".

King Malcolm Canmore completed the terrible work that William had begun. He invaded northern England through Cumberland and wasted Teesdale and other areas with great fierceness. If William showed no respect for the Celtic monasteries, Malcolm showed as little for Roman Catholic churches. He is credited, for instance, with the burning of St. Peter's, Wearmouth. Malcolm took so many captives, who were given over to slavery, that, according to an English chronicler, English slaves were for many years afterwards

to be found " in every Scottish village, nay even in every Scottish hovel ".

The wasted English districts were subsequently repeopled from Cumbria and Westmorland by the mixed Norse, Irish, and old British stock. No doubt, too, many refugees and escaped slaves from Scotland found their way back to their homeland. Normans and Flemings settled in large numbers in Northumbria during the twelfth century.

Those who regard the people of the Scottish border counties as near kinsmen of the Northumbrians incline to overlook the ethnic changes which took place after the Norman Conquest as well as those that followed upon the Gaelic occupation of the eastern Lowlands before and after the time of King Malcolm II. It can scarcely be contended that the enslaved captives of Malcolm III, the refugees who fled before William the Conqueror, or the Elliot and Armstrong families of freebooters who at a later period crossed the Border into Scotland, were so numerous as to effect a complete ethnical change in the eastern Lowlands.

We know little or nothing regarding Ingibiorg, the high-born Norse lady who became the first wife of Malcolm Canmore. Probably she resembled her near relatives who in the *Orkney Saga* are referred to as " fine looking, wise and gentle ". As Thorfinn, her first husband, was King Malcolm's first cousin once removed, the Norman churchmen regarded her second marriage as illegal, but it was quite regular according to the marriage laws of Scotland and Norway.

We can safely assume that Ingibiorg died before 1070, the year in which Malcolm Canmore married Margaret, sister of Edgar Etheling, the so-called " Saxon " princess, who was a devout Roman Catholic.

Margaret was canonized about a century and a half after

she died, and her fame as a saint has tended to obscure her character as a wife and queen. Her *Life* was written by Turgot, the prior of Durham monastery, who appears to have been for a short period in Dunfermline when Malcolm's new church there was consecrated. He had by that time become reconciled to King Malcolm, who in 1074 had expelled him from Melrose because of the active part he was taking in political intrigues.

Much of this *Life* reads like special pleading. It was written for Margaret's daughter Matilda, Queen of England, and there can be little doubt that it was intended to further the cause of the Normans as well as that of the Roman Catholic Church. Its historical content is of meagre character, and Margaret herself is lauded with enthusiasm for her piety, her long fasts, and her zeal as a reformer.

We gather from Turgot's statements that certain customs in the Church of Margaret's adopted country gave her displeasure. One of these was clerical marriages. Some years after she had married King Malcolm, Pope Gregory VII took vigorous action to suppress the custom of priests marrying wives or keeping concubines, and he forbade Catholics hearing the mass of a married priest. These clerical marriages were not, however, confined to Scotland and Ireland. Aldwin, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1023, was a married man. Indeed, in the north of England, according to Raine, " celibacy among the clergy of all ranks and orders was the exception and not the rule ". As we have seen, the Celtic Church was not opposed to the marriages of its clergy. Margaret was evidently prompted by the Pope's action to undertake the suppression of the custom in Scotland.

She found, too, that there was a marked reluctance on the part of the Scottish people to partake of the communion,

lest they should eat and drink unworthily—an attitude which is still not uncommon in the Scottish Highlands. Margaret contended that the partaking of the communion, after confession and fasting, was necessary for the remission of sins.

In certain districts, according to Turgot, mass was celebrated " contrary to the custom of the whole Church "—that is, not in accordance with the Roman Catholic custom. To him the Scottish rite was " barbarous ", but he does not enter into details.

Turgot would have us believe that the Lord's Day was not reverenced in Scotland, but his assertion in this connexion is contrary to the Gaelic evidence, for, as we have seen, the Gaelic clergy were strict Sabbatarians.

Certain Scottish marriage customs shocked Queen Margaret. These included the marriage of a man with his brother's widow or with his widowed stepmother.

Some of the " abuses " which Margaret strove, as a Roman Catholic, to abolish were in her time as prevalent upon the Continent as in Scotland.

When she conversed with the Scottish clergy, who spoke Gaelic, Malcolm acted as interpreter and gave his support to her arguments.

Turgot is at pains to emphasize the humility of spirit and religious zeal of Queen Margaret. He tells of her feeding poor persons in the palace and her concern regarding the physical welfare of the children of the destitute, of her long prayers and her long fasts. At the same time she concerned herself greatly regarding the splendour of court life and the dignity attaching to the throne. Turgot says she instituted a more ceremonious service to the king, and insisted that when he walked or went riding he should be accompanied by troops. She paid much attention to

the furnishings of the royal palace at Dunfermline, which she adorned with " silken cloths " and vessels of silver and gold. The ladies of the court had to follow her example in wearing clothing of different colours, and more brilliant attire had to be assumed by the men as well. We need not, however, attach any importance in this connexion to the assumption that the brightly coloured clothing, referred to vaguely by Turgot, was tartan and that Margaret should therefore be credited with the introduction into Scotland of the fashion of wearing that material. The Celts had tartan before they left the Continent, and there are references to it in ancient Gaelic writings. Some Irish priests, as we have seen, wore tartan kilts.

What Margaret really appears to have done was to introduce into Scotland foreign fashions of female attire. The use of colours among the Celtic peoples had long been regulated by their symbolism. There were sex colours and rank colours, and, as has been indicated, women invariably wore blue.

Margaret's love of gay attire and jewellery appears to have embarrassed Turgot, and there is unconscious humour in his statement in this connexion as translated by Anderson:

> " While she went clad in costly elegance, as befitted a queen, like another Esther she spurned in her mind all ornaments, and regarded herself but as dust and ashes underneath her jewels and gold; and, indeed, always took greatest pains to preserve humility amid so great exaltation of rank. She checked all the more easily every swelling of pride that arises from worldly honours."

And yet the " costly elegance " was of Margaret's own introduction! She was evidently a proud and dignified woman who regarded with the prejudice of a foreigner the manners and customs of her husband's subjects. There can be no doubt that she was also a woman of great force

of character who desired to impose her opinions upon others. When we find Turgot stating that the " excessive rigour of her fasting " caused her to suffer from " acutest pain in her stomach to the end of her days ", we cannot help concluding that, like other chronic dyspeptics, she must have been, on occasion, a very difficult individual indeed. Turgot appears to reveal more than he intended when he remarks that Malcolm was " fearful of offending her in any way " and was " most ready to say and to do whatever she bade ". It is certainly significant in this connexion to find that she selected the names of all her children and saw to it that these were not Gaelic. Her sons Edward, Edmund, Ethelred, and Edgar were named after her father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, while Alexander was named after Pope Alexander II, and David after the psalmist. Her daughters were named Matilda (or Maud) and Mary.

The severity of Margaret's rule in home life is indicated by Turgot's statement that she instructed the steward of her household to " restrain " her children " with threats and whippings whenever they erred in infantile naughtiness ". Matilda, her daughter, had, according to that lady's own statement, to endure " frequent lashings " from her aunt Christina, even after she had grown into womanhood.

After Margaret's brother had become reconciled with the Conqueror, the foreign favourites who were introduced into the Scottish court included some Normans. Turgot is at pains to assure us that in court circles Margaret insisted upon a strict attention to decency of conduct on the part of the ladies of her household and that " in her presence nothing unseemly was ever done or uttered ".

The moral peril attending the early Norman intrusion is emphasized by Edmer, the twelfth-century English historian, when he deals with the betrothal of Margaret's daughter

Matilda to Henry I, King of England. The princess had been brought up under the care of her aunt Christina, who in 1086 became a nun in Romsey. Matilda herself was reputed to have become a nun, but she informed Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, that she had only pretended to be one. Anderson's translation of her statement is as follows:

"I do not deny that I have worn the veil. For, when I was a girl, and trembled under the rod of my aunt Christina, whom thou knowest well, she, in order to save my body from the raging lust of the Normans—who lurked at that time in wait for every one's shame,—used to put a black hood over my head; and if I threw it off, used often to torture as well as dishonour me with cruel lashings and with too revolting taunts.

"And although I endured this hood in her presence, moaning and trembling, yet so soon as I could withdraw from her sight I was wont to seize it, fling it to the ground, and trample on it with my feet."

Evidently there was a family temper of harsh and fiery character.

Matilda told of a visit paid to her by her father King Malcolm. He was very angry when he saw her veiled:

"He lifted his hand and caught the veil, rent it in pieces, and called down God's hatred upon the one who put it upon me, asserting that he would rather have destined me to be Earl Alan's wife than to consort with nuns."

Anselm summoned an ecclesiastical council to deal with Matilda's case, and it was decided that she had never become a nun of her own will but under compulsion, and was therefore free to marry. Reference was made as follows to the excesses of the Normans:

"For when William the Great first subdued this land many of his followers took credit to themselves for so great a victory and protested that all things must obey and be subject to their pleasures

and excesses; and began to rage with unspeakable lust not only after the possessions of the conquered, but even after the married women also and the maidens, whenever opportunity offered. But this some foresaw, and in fear of dishonour betook themselves to the nunneries, and by receiving the veil among the nuns protected themselves from so great disgrace."

William of Malmesbury states that Matilda was sent to the nunnery so that she might " reject ignoble marriages more than once offered by her father ". Apparently Queen Margaret was determined that Malcolm should have as little to do with the marriages of his children as he had with selecting their names. In the Scottish royal family circle Mars was no match for Venus. Margaret's piety and her posthumous reputation as a saint should not blind us in delineating her character as a wife and a queen. This pale, red-haired, dyspeptic lady despised the Scottish gentry and Scottish fashions of attire. As she lectured the Gaelic clergy, so did she apparently lecture the king and his counsellors, and there can be no doubt that she was as unpopular with the native nobles as with the masses of the Scottish people. She was a foreigner who seems never to have felt at home in Scotland.

Two years after Margaret had married Malcolm, William the Conqueror invaded Scotland, which had become the refuge of Edgar and other enemies and therefore a hot-bed of intrigue. His fleet entered the Forth and his army overran the eastern Lowlands, but, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, " he found naught that the better was to him ". Apparently the country had been laid waste. Malcolm had assembled an army and was ready to fight, but owing to the intervention of the barons no battle took place. Geoffrey Gaimar (twelfth century) says the two kings came to an agreement, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* asserts that

Malcolm became William's " man ", that is, his vassal. The records in the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Annals of Loch Cé* state that the Normans took away with them as a hostage King Malcolm's son. Apparently this was Duncan, son of Ingibiorg, Malcolm's first wife. It does not appear, however, that the peace agreement constituted from the Scottish point of view a state of feudal subjection. William's chief concern was with Edgar's claim to the English throne. It is unlikely he had ambitions regarding Scotland, seeing that for several years he took so little interest in northern England.

Edgar sought refuge in Flanders, and when in 1074 he returned to Scotland, Malcolm advised him to make peace with the Conqueror. Edgar was accordingly prevailed upon to go to England, and he was received by King William " with great worship " and given a pension. Malcolm and William must have come to an agreement with regard to Edgar's future.

Six years later (1079) Malcolm again invaded England, which he devastated as far as the Tyne, returning with much booty. This was hardly the action of a vassal.

In the following year King William retaliated by sending his son Robert to Scotland at the head of an army. Robert reached Falkirk but accomplished nothing. On his return to northern England he constructed the fortress which was appropriately called Newcastle.

William the Conqueror died seven years later (1087) and was succeeded by his son William Rufus, who released Duncan, son of Malcolm, and made him a knight. Duncan did not, however, return at once to Scotland. Two years earlier (1085) Donald, Malcolm's son, had " closed his life unhappily ", as is stated in the *Annals of Ulster*, but we do not know whether he had been assassinated or accidentally killed.

In 1091 William Rufus divested Edgar Etheling of lands which had been given to him in Normandy, and Edgar returned to Scotland. It was probably to avenge this insult that Malcolm once again raided northern England. King William Rufus was at the time in Normandy, and he hurriedly returned to England with his brother Robert and mobilized a " ship army " and " land army ". These forces moved northward late in September, but the fleet was wrecked in a storm. When the Norman army approached that of Malcolm, a meeting took place between Edgar as Malcolm's representative and Robert as representative of his royal brother. Terms of peace were arranged, and King Malcolm and King William Rufus " parted with great amity ". Florence of Worcester asserts that Malcolm promised to obey William Rufus as he had obeyed William the Conqueror, and the Norman king restored certain English property to Malcolm and undertook to pay him annually twelve marks of gold. The peace did not, however, last for long. In 1092 William erected a castle at Carlisle, and Malcolm protested because it threatened his dominions in Cumberland.

Malcolm paid a visit to Gloucester in 1093, having received hostages for his safe conduct, but William demanded that the Scottish king should do him homage. This Malcolm refused, and the two monarchs parted " mutually dissatisfied ".

As soon as Malcolm returned to his kingdom he mobilized his army and invaded northern England. He laid siege to the castle of Alnwick, but was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by Robert de Moubray. Malcolm and his son Edward were slain and the Scottish army retreated hurriedly, suffering heavy losses.

Queen Margaret lay dying in Edinburgh Castle when news

of the disaster reached her, and she soon afterwards passed away.

Malcolm Canmore had reigned from March, 1058, till November, 1093, a period of 35 years, 8 months. During the latter part of his reign there had been trouble in Moray. In 1085, the year in which Malcolm's son Donald ended his life unhappily, Maelsnechtai, son of Lulach, " happily ended his life ", as the *Annals of Ulster* record puts it. He is referred to as " King of Moray ".

When Margaret was dying, Donald Bane, brother of King Malcolm, had come to Edinburgh with a Hebridean army, probably at Malcolm's request. At the time Scotland was seething with revolt because of the influence exercised in court circles by foreign favourites. King Malcolm had been prevailed upon to choose as his successor Margaret's son Edward, who fell with him at Alnwick, and there can be little doubt that he had been influenced in this connexion by his foreign queen. Duncan, Ingibiorg's son, was in London, living at the Norman court, and his brother Donald, as we have seen, met with a mysterious death eight years previously, leaving a son named Lodmund, who was killed in Moray in 1116. Of Malcolm, the third brother, we know nothing after 1094, when he witnessed a charter granted by Duncan.

Donald Bane headed a nationalist revolt against the Margaret party and seized the throne. When the queen was dying in Edinburgh Castle the nationalists were clamouring outside, and their cause was in the ascendant. Ethelred, who had taken holy orders, found it necessary to remove his mother's body from Edinburgh without knowledge of the populace. He took advantage of a " miraculous mist " and had it transported across the Forth to Dunfermline, where it was interred by the foreign clergy who had been

planted there. " That a mist on the Firth of Forth," commented Lord Hailes, " should be held miraculous, must appear to the inhabitants of Lothian a strange example of prepossession and credulity." Margaret herself, the lover of pomp and ceremony, probably never dreamed that her remains would have to be disposed of in such a clandestine fashion.

Donald Bane had himself proclaimed King of Scotland, and his first action was to expel from the court all the foreign favourites. Edgar Etheling had to remove Margaret's younger children then resident in Scotland to a place of concealment either in England or Ireland.

Duncan, Malcolm's son by Ingibiorg, regarded himself as the rightful heir to the throne, and his cause was espoused by King William Rufus, who provided him with an army of Normans and Englishmen. He advanced into Scotland and deposed his uncle Donald Bane after he had reigned for about six months. An army of Scots subsequently attacked Duncan's force and slew most of them. Then they made peace with Duncan, but on condition that he would never again introduce into Scotland either Normans or Englishmen, or permit them to give him military service.

King Duncan II reigned for about six months, but Donald Bane plotted against him, having come to an understanding with Edmund, Margaret's son. Duncan was murdered " by craft ". According to William of Malmesbury, Edmund took part in the wickedness of his uncle Donald, having bargained for half of the kingdom. He was subsequently captured and kept in fetters for life, but he sincerely repented, and when he was dying he asked to be buried in his chains, having been deservedly punished for the crime of fratricide. He ended his days as a monk in a Cluniac priory in Somersetshire.

Donald Bane had himself reinstated as king and reigned for three years after Duncan's death, but the rightful heir, according to the law of succession as laid down by Malcolm II, was William, son of Duncan.

In 1097 Edgar Etheling, having prevailed upon King William Rufus to provide him with an army, made war against King Donald, who was defeated and captured. The royal prisoner met with barbarous treatment, for his eyes were blinded and he was otherwise brutally mutilated.

Margaret's son Edgar was then declared King of Scotland, and the period of direct Norman influence in the politics of Scotland was thus inaugurated. William of Malmesbury praises William Rufus for placing upon the Scottish throne Malcolm's son, although Malcolm himself had wronged him so greatly.

CHAPTER XX

Changes in Church and State

During a period of fifty-six years (1097–1153) Queen Margaret's sons Edgar, Alexander I, and David I reigned successively as Kings of Scotland. In court circles the subtle growth of Norman influence caused the eclipse of the Celtic party, and the royal patronage accorded to the Roman Catholic Church gradually brought about the complete disintegration of the ancient Gaelic Church. The sentiment of Scottish nationality was too deeply rooted, however, to be extinguished either by Normanized kings or by churchmen who espoused the Norman cause, which, after the Conqueror's time, had for its aim the reduction of Scotland to the status of a vassal state and its ultimate absorption by the kingdom of England.

King Edgar owed his crown to the Normans, and two years after he came to the throne he attended the coronation of King William II in London, carrying the sword beside him as a vassal. The marriage of his sister Matilda to King Henry I in 1100 not only helped to conciliate the Anglo-Saxon party in England to Norman rule, but brought the Scottish court into more intimate touch with that of England. Edgar was a willing tool in the hands of the Norman intriguers. Aildred, Abbot of Rievaux, describes him as "a sweet-tempered amiable man, in all things

resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent". As Lord Hailes has commented in this connexion, however, "the comparison with Edward the Confessor exhibits an unfavourable idea of his kingly abilities". Edgar was certainly more concerned about cultivating the good graces of the Normans than in maintaining intact the kingdom he had inherited. The northern and western Celtic nationalists were gradually alienated and in time made common cause with the Norsemen, whose influence had previously been gradually reduced by Malcolm II, Macbeth, and Malcolm Canmore.

The murder of King Duncan II, which involved the displacement of his son William and of his brother Malcolm, was a happening of more than domestic interest. It revived in Norway the claim to the overlordship of the Orkneys and Shetlands and the Hebrides, which had lain dormant since the time of Earl Thorfinn and the marriage of his widow Ingibiorg to Malcolm Canmore.

King Duncan's near kinsman Magnus Barelegs, son of Olaf and grandson of Harold Hardrádr (Hard-ruler), who fell at the battle of Stamford Bridge, fitted out a strong fleet and sailed to and seized the Orkneys and Shetlands. He then subdued the northern Hebrides. According to the saga evidence, he forced King Edgar to acknowledge his claim to many of the western isles, and he appointed as Earl of Orkney his young son Sigurd, who was subsequently to become famous as the first Norse crusader.

Magnus was a tall, vigorous, and warlike man, imbued with the Viking spirit of adventure and conquest. Unlike his forerunners, however, he was a Christian, and when he visited Iona he respected its sanctity. He was nicknamed "Barelegs" because he wore the kilt—"the fashion of dress", as a saga puts it, "usual in the western lands".

A number of his followers followed his example; they caused a sensation in Norway when they returned in triumph from their expedition attired in " the garb of old Gaul ".

Paul and Erlend, the joint Earls of Orkney, and sons of Thorfinn and Ingibiorg, were taken to Norway as prisoners. Magnus (the future St. Magnus) and Erling, the sons of Earl Erling, had been forced to serve on the Norse king's ship, but Magnus refused to fight, and ultimately effected his escape and found refuge at the court of the Scottish king. Erling fell in battle.

Nine years later Magnus Barelegs set out on another western expedition. He fought in Ulster as an ally of King Myrkiartan (Muirchertach) and was slain in a skirmish by his Irish " friends " when engaged in procuring supplies of food. His son Sigurd afterwards departed to Norway, where he became joint king with his brothers Eystein and Olaf. The earldom of Orkney again passed to the old line. Hakon, grandson of Ingibiorg and Thorfinn, ruled alone for a time, and then his cousin Magnus claimed and obtained his share of the islands, but he was subsequently murdered by the Hakon party.

King Edgar reigned for ten years (1097–1107). He was a pious Roman Catholic and founded the priory of Benedictines at Coldingham.

His brother Alexander I, who succeeded him and had a reign of seventeen years (1107–24), was a man of very different character. He inherited the family temper and the strong will of his mother, which caused him to be known as " Alexander the Fierce ". According to Aildred, he might be " humble and amiable " to the clergy, but " to the rest of his subjects he was beyond measure terrible ". That he could take a firm stand against the clergy is, however, made manifest by the events of his reign in connexion with the

claims of the English archbishops to the spiritual overlordship of the Scottish Church. " If," wrote John Bishop of Glasgow to Eadmer, the Norman Bishop of St. Andrews, " as a son of peace, you desire peace, it will be vain for you to expect any friendly intercourse with him, or quiet under his government. We are thoroughly acquainted with his disposition. It is his will to be everything himself in his own kingdom."

It was well for Scotland that Alexander I was a man of strong will and determined character, because during his brother's reign the Norman statesmen and clergy had effected serious encroachments on its liberties. Edgar had bequeathed to his younger brother David the old British kingdom of Strathclyde, Galloway, and part of Cumberland —the Scottish Cumbria—and the Normans gave their support to David when he claimed it. Alexander appears, however, to have established his right to the overlordship. He found it necessary, at the same time, to give military service to his brother-in-law Henry I of England, for in the year 1111 he assisted him with a force of northern Scots in reducing Wales to subjection by accepting the Norman terms of peace. He had also to accept as his wife Sibylla, the natural daughter of Henry I, who is referred to by William of Malmesbury as a woman without either refinement of person or modesty of manners. We are left wondering what Queen Margaret would have thought of such a match. Sibylla died in the isle of Loch Tay in 1122, leaving no offspring. This island, which lies opposite Taymouth Castle, was granted by Alexander I to the monks of Scone " for myself and for the soul of Queen Sibylla ". He provided that the brotherhood serving the monastic rule in the island priory should have " perpetual possession ", so that " that place may be renowned for its service to God ".

Alexander must have conciliated the northern Celtic element which had espoused the cause of Malcolm Canmore's sons by his first marriage, for in 1116, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, Lodmund, son of Donald (the brother of the murdered King Duncan II), was killed by the men of Moray. As his name was Scandinavian, it is possible that Lodmund was being supported by his kinsmen, the Norsemen. St. Magnus was assassinated in Orkney about the same time.

Alexander was a religious man, but opposed the claims of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury to hold the bishops of Scotland in subjection to their rule. He chose as Bishop of St. Andrews, Turgot, the biographer of his mother, Queen Margaret, but quarrelled with him over the question of consecration by the Archbishop of York. Turgot returned to Durham and died there. Alexander then took advantage of the disputes between Canterbury and York by asking Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to send him a bishop. Edmer was chosen, and Alexander expected to prevail upon him to accept the headship of the Scottish Church as one opposed to the claim of the Archbishop of York. But when Edmer arrived in Scotland he urged the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to preeminence over all Britain. Alexander ultimately prevailed upon him to take the pastoral staff off the altar, as if receiving it from the Lord, and to take the ring from himself, thus dispensing with the assistance of either the Archbishop of York or the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Thurstan, Archbishop of York, urged King Henry of England to intervene in the dispute, and the Archbishop of Canterbury received a royal order not to interfere with the Scottish Church.

Edmer wished to go to Canterbury to consult Archbishop

Ralph, but Alexander refused to permit him to leave Scotland unless he delivered up the staff and ring. Edmer complied with the royal request and returned to Canterbury. Thereafter Alexander complained to Archbishop Ralph that Edmer had refused to accommodate himself to the usages of Scotland and the customs of its people.

Edmer soon repented having left Scotland. He accordingly asked to be recalled, and his cause was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Alexander, however, refused his prayer, and shortly before his death in 1124 had Robert, prior of Scone, appointed Bishop of St. Andrews. The Archbishop of York claimed the right to consecrate him and receive his submission, but once again the Scots protested that their Church was independent of England. According to the twelfth-century *History of Four Archbishops of York*, by Hugh Sottewain, the action of the Scottish bishops in refusing to recognize the supremacy of the Archbishop of York was prejudicial to the dignity of the King of England. The same writer tells that when Archbishop Thurstan went to Rome he was indignant to find that the Bishop of Glasgow and his companions had persuaded the Pope that Scotland was " not part of the English kingdom ". He contended in private and public that the King of Scotland was in reality a vassal of the King of England. This revelation emphasizes the importance of the stand made by Alexander I for the independence of Scotland in connexion with the bishopric of St. Andrews. We may therefore consider him a worthy and patriotic descendant of Malcolm II, and regard with suspicion some of the prejudiced references to him on the part of the intriguing clergy against whom he found it necessary to take so firm a stand, displaying, the while, the family temper.

Although Alexander brought a colony of monks from

Yorkshire, whom he established at Scone, and increased the revenues of the monastery at Dunfermline founded by his parents, he was not greatly prejudiced against the Celtic Church. It was he who had erected the monastery on the island still called Inchcolm (Island of St. Columba) in the Firth of Forth. He had been forced to land on the island in a storm and was hospitably entertained by a pious Columban hermit who lived there. Alexander ascribed his escape from drowning to St. Columba. It was out of gratitude that he had the monastery erected and dedicated to the great missionary of Iona.

Alexander's successor was David I, who reigned for twenty-nine years (1124–53). He had spent his youth at the English court, and William of Malmesbury says he was " courtly and polished ", because " intercourse and familiarity with us had rubbed off all the rust of Scottish barbarism ". He represents David as endeavouring to make his Scottish subjects pay more attention to their dwellings, to wear more refined garments, and be more particular about their food. Apparently the tartan kilt, which had appealed so strongly to King Magnus Barelegs, was not to Norman eyes " refined " attire. Many of the Scots, especially in the Border counties, had dwellings which were easily demolished when, during a raid from England, the country was laid waste and cleared of its live stock.

As certain food prejudices still survive in Scotland, it may be that William of Malmesbury referred to these among others. The charge of " barbarism " appears to mean little more than that the manners and customs of Scotland were different from those of England.

In Scottish court circles, however, a higher code of morals prevailed than could be credited to the Anglo-Normans. William of Malmesbury commends David and his brothers,

Edgar and Alexander, for their freedom from the vices characteristic of other kings of their time. He says they never permitted any woman except their wives to enter their chambers, and never kept concubines.

It appears, however, that Alexander I left a natural son who is referred to by the chroniclers as Malcolm MacHeth. His mother's people must have been influential in the north of Scotland, and it is of interest to find that Dr. Macbain regarded the name MacHeth as the equivalent of Mackay. There were MacHeths or McEths in Perthshire and Galloway. In the west, where "Mac" is by some pronounced "Mag", as in "M'Gloud" for "McLeod", an Englished form of MacHeth (Mackay) is M'Ghie. Malcolm MacHeth must have been strongly supported, for in the first year of David's reign he fought two fierce battles.

Six years later (1130) Malcolm's claim to the throne was espoused by Angus, Mormaer of Moray, son of King Lulach's daughter, and therefore a great-grandson of Gruoch, wife of King Macbeth, by her first husband. Gruoch, as we have seen, was a granddaughter of King Kenneth III. An army of 5000 men of Moray and their allies moved southward to wrest Scotland from David I, who at the time was in London. It was, however, defeated by David's army under the command of Edward, Siward's son, and reinforced by Normans. Angus was slain and the fugitives were pursued into Moray, Malcolm MacHeth being taken prisoner. David I is said to have appropriated the earldom of the ancient Pictish province of Moray, which extended from Buchan to Inverness and farther north, and had played and continued for many long years to play an important part in shaping the destiny of Scotland as an independent kingdom.

Malcolm MacHeth has been confused with another "Pretender" who claimed to be, and no doubt was, a son of Angus, the slain Mormaer of Moray, and therefore great-great-grandson of the wife of Macbeth. He had been sent when very young into northern England and in time became a monk of Furness, bearing the name of Wimund. William of Newburgh tells that he grew very tall, was robust and cheerful, possessed of keen intelligence, and remarkable for his wonderful memory and his gift of natural eloquence.

Wimund was appointed Bishop of Man before 1138, and as such became popular and influential. There he came into touch with the adventurous and warlike peoples of the Hebrides and Ireland, including the mixed descendants of Celts and Norsemen who perpetuated the Viking life, and we next hear of him leading the life of a freebooter and pirate. Declaring himself the son and heir of the Mormaer of Moray, he waged war against the king of the Scots "to prosecute his cause and avenge his wrongs". After conducting guerrilla warfare with success for some time, he was captured, blinded, and emasculated.

Wimund spent the remaining years of his life in the abbey of Byland. There the monks often heard him telling of his exploits. We can picture him over his cups—another Samson, eyeless and helpless, and yet possessed of great muscular strength and burning with indignation over his wrongs. William of Newburgh relates that he was wont to declare that if he had but the eye of a sparrow, his enemies would be unable to boast of what they had done to him!

Wimund had a grim sense of humour. When relating his adventures he was sometimes heard to declare that he had never been defeated except by God alone, whose human instrument was a simple bishop endowed with faith. The

bishop in question, declaring that he would not be made the tributary of another bishop, had, during one of Wimund's raids, flung an axe which struck him down, causing him and his followers to retreat in confusion. It is evident that Wimund was a rare character.

King David had at his court another claimant to the throne who appears to have exercised a great influence in Scotland. This was his nephew William, son of Duncan II, who, as has been stated, should, according to the law of succession established by Malcolm II, have been chosen King of Scotland when Edgar came to the throne. His mother was a daughter of Gospatrick I, the Cumbrian Briton who, after being Earl of Northumberland, was made by Malcolm Canmore the first Earl of Dunbar and governor of Lothian. Gospatrick's father was Maldred, brother of King Duncan I, and his mother was the daughter of Utred, Earl of Northumbria, and granddaughter of King Ethelred the Unready.

William "FitzDuncan" married Alicia, daughter of the Norman baron Robert de Romeley, by whom he had two sons, William (who died young) and Gospatrick (of whom nothing is known), as well as three daughters. He appears to have taken as a second wife a northern Scots woman, a member of an influential family, for he had a son Donald MacWilliam, who after King David's time claimed the crown of Scotland and, as we shall see, met with no small degree of success.

King David had, before becoming King of Scotland, married Matilda, widow of Simon of Senlis, Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and daughter and heiress of Waltheof, Earl of Northumbria and son of Earl Siward, the kinsman and ally of Malcolm Canmore. This marriage brought the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon to

David as well as the estates inherited by his wife from her mother Judith, and it made David's descendants claimants to the earldom of Northumbria.

As a Norman baron and brother-in-law of King Henry I of England, David took an active interest in English political life. He with others swore to support the princess Matilda, whom Henry had nominated as his successor, but when Henry died in 1135 his sister's son Stephen seized the throne.

David invaded northern England, taking possession of the whole country north of Durham and forcing the barons to swear allegiance to his niece, the queen. Stephen moved northward at the head of a strong army, but no battle was fought. The terms of peace which were arranged were in the nature of a compromise. David delivered over to Stephen all the lands and castles he had seized, while Stephen undertook to confer upon Prince Henry, David's eldest son, the Honour of Huntingdon, with Doncaster and the castle of Carlisle. Henry was permitted to do homage to Stephen for his English estates. According to Henry of Huntingdon, David himself did not, although an English baron, formally become " Stephen's man ". Stephen had married David's niece Matilda, the only child of his sister Mary, who had married the Earl of Boulogne. The reconciliation of the two kings proved to be only temporary.

In the following year (1137) David again assembled a great army to invade Northumbria. The chief instigator of this rising is said to have been William FitzDuncan, who commanded part of the Scottish forces. Certain of the northern English barons were, however, in secret correspondence with David and gave him active assistance.

When the Scots under William FitzDuncan were ravaging in Northumberland, King Stephen hastened northward

with his army. The invaders retired to Roxburgh, where, as Richard of Hexham tells, it was intended to seize or slay Stephen. A plot had been formed to accord a welcome to the English king and his army, but they were to be surrounded in the night and put to the sword by a force lying in ambush.

Stephen, however, avoided Roxburgh, and crossing the Tweed at another point began to ravage the country. He met with no resistance, but finding provisions scanty he soon retreated. He forced that powerful baron Eustace FitzJohn to yield the fortress of Bamborough. FitzJohn, who still possessed the castles of Alnwick, Northumbria, and Malton, Yorkshire, subsequently made common cause with King David.

A rising in southern England compelled Stephen to abandon northern England for a time. Once again the Scots swarmed into Northumbria. William FitzDuncan overran a great part of Yorkshire, and in June, 1138, defeated a force of Norman knights at Clitheroe on the borders of Lancashire.

Norham Castle subsequently fell to David and was destroyed. The whole country was harried as far as the Tees. Then that river was crossed, and the ancient province of Deira was also completely overrun.

Stephen was unable to do more than send northward a force of cavalry which was commanded by the baron Bernard de Balliol, with whom was associated the aged baron Robert de Bruce. These were the ancestors of our King John Balliol and King Robert the Bruce.

Meanwhile Thurstan, the aged Bishop of York, organized a holy war against the invading Scots—a war " in defence of Christ's Church against the barbarians ". Those who fell in battle were promised salvation. Parish priests raised

and armed forces of men and led them to Northallerton, carrying crucifixes, banners, and the relics of saints.

While this army was being mobilized, Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Balliol were sent to King David to endeavour to arrange terms of peace. The Bruce, who held a barony in Galloway, reminded David of the indebtedness of his family to the Normans against whom he was waging war. He said it was owing to Norman intervention that Donald Bane had been overthrown, that Edgar had been placed upon the Scottish throne, that he himself had received Cumbria in spite of the opposition of his brother Alexander, and that Malcolm MacHeth had been defeated and captured.

Bruce moved King David to tears, and had almost prevailed upon him to enter into a compact when William FitzDuncan intervened, bluntly accusing the Bruce of treason and, as Aildred tells, " turning the king from his purpose ".

The Bruce and the Balliol, finding their efforts were in vain, renounced their allegiance to King David and returned to their comrades.

The Scottish army advanced to attack the Anglo-Norman force, which had assembled on Cutton moor in the vicinity of Northallerton. There had been erected as a standard a ship's mast on which fluttered the banners of St. Peter of York, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Rippon, while on the top was a casket holding the consecrated host. The conflict which ensued became known as the " Battle of the Standard ".

The first line of the Scottish army was formed by the infantry, referred to by English chroniclers as the Galwegians, who had claimed, as a right, this place of honour. They were apparently mainly Gaels and Gall-Gaels. As was their custom, they charged at a rush, but they were

opposed by a steady and determined force of English spearmen and constantly subjected to showers of arrows by the skilled English archers. When their two chief leaders, Ulgric and Donald, were slain, they wavered, losing heart.

Prince Henry then charged at the head of a force of cavalry, throwing the English footmen into confusion. The Galwegians thereafter began to rally, but an English soldier, holding up the head of a slain horseman, shouted, "The head of the Scots king!"

At this cry the English infantry were inspired with fresh courage, but the Galwegians broke into flight and with them went the men of Lothian, who were being brought into action.

King David was in command of the reserves, which were composed of Gaels and the steady men of Moray. He brought up this force, and the Lothian infantry rallied. The English pursuit of the Galwegians was checked, and King David retired in good order towards Carlisle.

Prince Henry had pushed his attack too far. Having scattered part of the English army, he pursued it for some distance, and on his return found that the "Battle of the Standard" was over. In the confusion of the pursuit he and his followers mingled with the enemy. They reached Carlisle by a circuitous route some days after David had arrived there.

The reverse sustained by the Scots did not bring the war to an end. Northumberland was still at their mercy and was widely harried. The castle of Werk was captured and destroyed, and David returned to Scotland with much booty and many prisoners.

In 1139 the Peace of Durham was arranged. It provided that the earldom of Northumbria should be conferred upon Prince Henry, with the exception of the strongholds of

Newcastle and Bamborough, which King Stephen retained.

Prince Henry was given the castle of Carlisle, and this grant caused its former occupant, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to rebel. He was pacified, however, by receiving the castle of Lincoln. Stephen subsequently attacked this fortress, and the Earl of Chester, escaping, joined forces with the Earl of Gloucester. The allies then attacked Stephen, whom they defeated and captured.

This dramatic development was followed by a rising in London in favour of Queen Matilda, who then returned to power. King David set out for London, but when he was at the queen's court Stephen's supporters organized a counter-revolution. In the end the queen was deposed and David had to take flight to Scotland. Matilda subsequently retired to Normandy. When in 1154 Stephen died, her son Henry became King of England.

Prince Henry, David's son, died in 1152, and David chose as his own successor his grandson Malcolm. He himself died at Carlisle in the following year.

The reign of David I inaugurated a new era in the civil and ecclesiastical life of Scotland. His youthful experiences in England had not only familiarized him with the Norman system of government, but made him a pro-Norman statesman.

The Norman knights who had assisted David in Scotland were more than a match for the Celtic and Scandinavian warriors. They not only constituted mobile forces with horses higher and swifter than the ponies used by Celt, Dane, and Anglo-Saxon, but heavily armed like themselves. The Norman warriors were the " tanks " of their time, and like these they revolutionized warfare.

King David introduced into Scotland the system of control by the Norman military aristocracy which held

England in subjection. He gave large grants of land to Norman barons, who became the overlords of native chiefs and owed allegiance to the Crown. Robert de Bruce, for instance, received the territory of Annandale, which embraced about 200,000 acres, and although he renounced allegiance to David before the " Battle of the Standard ", his vast estate was inherited by his son. The " Free Masonry " of the Normans was not infrequently proof against temporary estrangements between barons and between barons and kings.

David also did more than his brothers Edgar and Alexander to establish Roman Catholicism and its system of government in Scotland. The only trouble that arose in this connexion was caused by the pretensions of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury to exercise ecclesiastical control over Scotland. David, like Alexander, opposed these archbishops because if their claims were acknowledged the English king would be justified in urging his own claim to the overlordship of Scotland. Both Alexander I and David I desired that the Church in Scotland should be controlled by the Pope not through an English but a Scottish archbishop. They wished to have the Scottish Church as free and independent as the Scottish kingdom.

The gradual suppression of the Celtic Church was greatly advanced during David's reign, the monastic system of control being displaced by the establishment of bishoprics. Watson draws attention to very important evidence in this connexion. The St. Columban cult being a native one, by virtue of its long establishment, found its strength in the traditional reverence for the memory of the doctrines and example of the great teacher of Iona. The Roman Catholic party found it expedient to set up as a Scottish rival to the Gaelic saint, the earlier St. Ninian, who had,

according to tradition, converted the southern Picts. When, as Watson shows, Aildred, the friend of King David, states that " the holy pontiff (Ninian) began to ordain presbyters, consecrate bishops, distribute the other dignities of the ecclesiastical ranks, and divide the whole land into definite parishes ", he was really " ascribing to Ninian exactly what was being accomplished in David's time and," adds Watson, " at the same time insinuating that David's changes, instead of being innovations, were in reality a restoration of the ancient and pure system of Ninian; the monastic Scoto-Irish Church was regarded as an unauthorized and discredited interlude ".

Dedications to St. Ninian supplanted those to Scoto-Irish saints. Watson, in his *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, points out that in the numerous commemorations of Ninian in Scotland his name " never appears in its native form: what appears is either the Latinized form, or a Gaelic form derived therefrom through Scots vernacular ". No personal name formed from that of Ninian, with *maol* or *gille* prefixed, is on record, and no fair is called after Ninian. " All this," Watson emphasizes, " points to a tradition broken and subsequently revived."

The extinction of the Celtic Church in Scotland was not completed until long after David's time, but he left it crippled and doomed.

David made rich grants to the Roman Catholic Church. As King James I had subsequently cause to complain, he proved himself a " sair sanct for the Crown ". Scotland certainly paid a heavy price for the privilege of a national Church.

The liberality of David to the ecclesiastical order is emphasized when it is recalled that he erected the church of Holyrood, the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh,

Jedburgh, Newbattle, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss, converted Dunfermline monastery into an abbey and the Celtic monastery at Dunkeld into a cathedral, and established a convent of Cistercian monks at Berwick-on-Tweed, besides founding new bishoprics.

Compared with his benefactions, those of his father and mother, King Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret, were somewhat meagre. They restored the Columban church in Iona, erected a church at Dunfermline, where they gave the first endowment to Benedictines, and made a gift of land in Fife to the Culdees of the Gaelic Church. Much of David's work in the interests of Roman Catholicism has been credited by some writers to his mother, whose influence in the Church life of Scotland has been greatly exaggerated.

King David was very young when Queen Margaret died, and his enthusiasm for the Roman Catholic faith was due not so much to her example as to the influence exercised upon him by the Roman Catholic clergy during his youth at the Anglo-Norman court. His mother not only tolerated but revered the Culdees of the Columban Church, against whom David set a stern face, regarding them as little better than heretics.

CHAPTER XXI

Threatened Disruption of Scotland

When Malcolm IV came to the throne in 1153 he was a mere boy of twelve years of age, and but for Norman support would have been swept aside by the Celtic party, which favoured the succession of a descendant of Malcolm Canmore by his first wife, or a descendant of an earlier representative of the dynasty of Kenneth mac Alpin.

William FitzDuncan must have predeceased King David, who in 1151 conferred upon him the Honour of Skipton in Craven, being, at the time, in feudal control of a large area of northern England. As much is indicated by the fact that a charter granted to Bolton Priory in 1154 was signed by his son William, the " Boy of Egremont ".

Soon after King David died Somerled, the Hebridean king, " rebelled ", as the *Chronicle of Holyrood* puts it, against King Malcolm, espousing the cause of his nephews, the sons of Malcolm MacHeth. His plans were, however, interrupted by the arrival from Norway of Godfrey, son of Olaf, who claimed the Hebrides and Man, and was ultimately invited to reign over the Northmen of Dublin. A naval battle was fought between the forces of Somerled and Godfrey about 1156, and then the rivals made peace, dividing the islands between them. Godfrey was subsequently (1158) forced to seek refuge in Norway.

Somerled had been assisting his nephews in their cam-

paign in Galloway when he turned his attention to the struggle in the Isles. During his absence Donald, the elder of his nephews, was taken captive at Whithorn and conveyed as a prisoner to Roxburgh, where he was confined with his father, Malcolm MacHeth.

In the following year (1157) Malcolm MacHeth was reconciled to King Malcolm IV, and we next hear of him as Earl of Ross and of part of Moray. He died in 1168, having survived King Malcolm for three years. Somerled also came to an understanding with Malcolm, whom he appears to have acknowledged as his overlord. He was certainly opposed to the Norse king's claim to be High King of the Western Isles which Magnus Barelegs had acquired.

When Malcolm was about seventeen years of age he visited Henry II at Chester. That great King of England was an astute and far-seeing statesman who ruled over a large part of France and had dreams of including Ireland and Scotland within his dominions. He was curbing the power of his barons, who during Stephen's reign had been " king makers " and " king breakers ", and he showed no hesitation in regularizing his relations with the young Scottish ruler. Not only did he insist upon Malcolm doing homage to him as a subject in England, but compelled him to make formal resignation of the northern counties, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, with the castles of Carlisle, Bamborough, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, which King David had held for Matilda, the king's mother.

Malcolm was not knighted, and his claim to the earldom of Northumbria was left in abeyance. The two kings met again in the following year (1158) at Carlisle, but parted in not too friendly a spirit.

Henry remained the dictator and Malcolm the suppliant, and in 1159 the young Scottish king obeyed a summons to

accompany Henry in his expedition against Toulouse. While in France Malcolm received the honour of knighthood which he greatly coveted.

The Celtic earls in Scotland regarded with distrust Malcolm's dealings with the King of England. According to Fordun, they sent a deputation to France to warn and reproach their king and declare frankly to him that they would not have King Henry recognized as overlord of Scotland.

In 1160 Malcolm had returned home and at Perth met the great men of his kingdom. He found, however, that Feradach, Earl of Strathearn, and five other earls were so incensed with regard to his feudal relations with Henry that they had broken into open rebellion. An attempt was made to seize the young king, but it was frustrated. Then a peace was patched up by the clergy. Malcolm found it necessary, however, to deal with a rebellion in Galloway. He conducted three campaigns in that difficult area and in the end crushed his enemies. Fergus, " Prince of Galloway ", having yielded to Malcolm, retired from political life and became a canon of Holyrood. He died in the course of a year (May, 1161).

There was serious trouble in Moray, where the Celtic element remained very strong. Its people regarded the Normanized rulers of Scotland as intruders and were ever ready to support a claimant of the ancient royal stock. " No solicitations or largess could allure them," says Fordun; " no treaties or oaths could bind them to their duties." Malcolm is credited with having dispossessed and transported many of the influential Moray families. This appears to refer to the establishment of Norman strongholds and of royal burghs, similar to those formed by King David in the south, which were defended by palisades and ditches and occupied by loyalists and Flemish and Lowland

merchants and artisans. By granting the burgesses trading monopolies, the Crown secured their permanent allegiance. It must not be assumed, however, that these free burgesses were the pioneers of commerce in the areas in which they had been planted. We know from the sagas that the Norsemen were traders as well as buccaneers, and there is abundant evidence to show that the Irish Norse especially traded on a considerable scale. The *Orkney Saga* mentions Dúfeyrar, i.e. Deveron-mouth, as " a trading place in Scotland " which they were accustomed to visit. It also refers to the trading port of Grimsby, to which Kali was taken by merchants and where he saw a large number of traders from Norway, the Orkneys, Scotland, and the Sudreyar (Hebrides). He met there Harold Gillichrist, the Hebridean, who told that he was a son of Magnus Barelegs. This was the man who subsequently became King of Norway under the name of Harold Gilli.

The fairs or markets established by the Columban clergy throughout Scotland did much to regularize and foster commerce, and many of these continued to be held in areas in which no burghs were ever established. Trade with the Continent was in existence as far back as the pre-Roman period. Tacitus, for instance, mentions that in the first century the harbours of Ireland were well known because merchants were in the habit of visiting them. There is abundant evidence in ancient Irish manuscripts and in the *Lives* of the Celtic Christian saints to establish the fact that local and overseas commerce flourished long before Norman times. What King David I and his successors seem to have aimed at, and succeeded in no small measure in accomplishing, was the destruction of Celtic and Celto-Norse commerce. The burghs were established to " corner " trade. But we must not think of their merchants as men

with shops and offices. They were simply the privileged " dealers " at the fairs and the only men permitted within their spheres of influence to import and export goods.

The Norman or Normanized barons erected their timber strongholds, according to the custom of the time, on artificial mounds or hillocks, protecting them with ditches and stockades, and these were permanently garrisoned. It was forbidden to the military aristocrats to engage in commerce. They were the local officers of the Crown who administered law, punishing evildoers and suppressing revolts. Their strongholds were not only " block-houses " in the military sense, but also courts where offenders were tried and judgment delivered and the offices in which the taxes were collected.

As in Ireland, many of these barons adopted the manners and customs of the land of their adoption. They were military adventurers who owed no allegiance to any particular country and might be of Norman, Breton, Anglian, or German descent. In Ireland some of them became, as MacNeill puts it, " more Irish than the Irish "; in Scotland the descendants of Chisholms, Bissets, &c., became chiefs of clans, acquiring a sense of nationality which their ancestors had never known during the course of their wanderings from country to country.

The bishops also acquired estates and became not only faithful and influential subjects of the Crown, but patriotic Scots who favoured the independence of the Scottish national Church and consequently of Scotland as a kingdom.

King Malcolm, who was nicknamed " the Maiden ", apparently because of his handsome features and delicate complexion, had a frail constitution and may have been phthisical. In 1163, when on a visit to England, he had a serious illness which laid him up at Doncaster. After

recovering he made a firm peace with King Henry, doing homage to him and to his young son. No details of the treaty are available, but we can take it for granted that if it was pleasing to King Henry it was not to Scotland's advantage. As much is indicated by the fact that a spirit of unrest again became manifest in Malcolm's kingdom. In 1164 Somerled, who is referred to by an English chronicler as " under King of Argyll " and by an Irish one as " King of the Hebrides and Kintyre ", invaded the Clyde area with an army strongly reinforced by the " foreigners of Dublin ". The *Chronicle of Man* credits Somerled with the intention of subduing Scotland to himself. No doubt he had a Mac-Heth claimant in the background. Somerled and one of his sons were slain at Renfrew. According to one account, they were assassinated in their tent. Their followers were dispersed.

The cause of the King of England was being supported by the Archbishop of York, who in 1163 procured from the Pope legatine powers over Scotland and summoned the Scottish bishops to meet him at Norham. The bishops sent deputies to lodge a protest, and then an appeal was made to Rome. If the Archbishop of York could establish his claim to supremacy over the Scottish Church, it would be easier for King Henry to advance his own to be recognized as King Malcolm's overlord.

Malcolm died at Jedburgh in December, 1165, and was buried at Dunfermline. At the time of his death he was in the twenty-fifth year of his age and the thirteenth of his reign. He had never married, but left a natural son. Like his grandfather David I, he was a benefactor of the Roman Catholic Church. He founded a priory for Cistercian nuns at Manuel, near Linlithgow, and an abbey for Cistercian monks at Coupar-Angus.

Malcolm's successor was his younger brother William the Lion, who was crowned on 24th December, 1165, and reigned till 4th December, 1214, a period of forty-nine years. He was called " the Lion " because he was the first King of Scotland to assume a coat armorial, adopting the red lion rampant on a yellow ground. His banner remains familiar in Scotland, and the chief of the Scottish Heralds is still known as Lyon King at Arms.

In 1166 William, having determined to urge his family claim for the restitution of Northumbria, paid a visit to Henry II in Normandy. He met with more than his match, however. The boisterous and passionate red-headed and bandy-legged English king, who was always " hustling " and seemed incapable of sitting down, could be on occasion very courteous and affable and entertaining, but he was ambitious, proud, and domineering, and his bull-neck and big coarse hands, fiery face and prominent eyes were indicative of a side of his character which was to be revealed to William, much to his grief, before many years had passed.

Henry seems to have had his fun with William, who, according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, " attempted certain knightly feats ", having apparently been flattered to tilt with knights of greater skill, but he refused to admit William's claim. Henry appears, indeed, to have been roused to fury when urged to consider it. A correspondent of Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, tells of a scene which occurred at Caen when Henry and William were discussing the Northumbrian or some other question in the presence of certain barons. Richard de Hamez made a remark in support of William's claim. King Henry thereupon lost his temper, called Richard a traitor, threw down his cap, took off his belt, and flung away his mantle and other clothing.

Then, stripping the bed of its coverlet, he sat on the bare mattress and began to chew stalks of straw.

King William had to return home with nothing more satisfying than Henry's promise to prolong the peace which he had arranged with Malcolm IV. The Scottish king was a man with a grievance, and he is credited with having made overtures to the King of France, suggesting the formation of an alliance against King Henry of England.

In 1170 William attended the English court at Windsor. He was accompanied by his younger brother David, who received the honour of knighthood. Henry had one of his sons crowned as his successor, and on the following day required William and David to do homage to him.

At the time King Henry was adding a great part of Ireland to his dominions. He had obtained from Pope Hadrian permission to invade that country to correct its religious abuses, extend the sway of the Roman Catholic Church, and reform the manners and customs of its people, restraining vice and implanting virtue. He had had to do a good deal of reforming in England, where, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a state of anarchy prevailed during the nineteen years of Stephen's reign, the Norman barons having built many new castles, which they filled with " devils and evil men ". The country was freely plundered by the barons and their " devils ", and decent people suspected of concealing treasure had to submit to torture. Even the clergy were not spared, and it seemed to them during periods of famine and terrorism that " Christ and his saints slept ".

Henry's opportunity to intervene in Irish affairs came when Dermod, King of Leinster, who had been dethroned, appeared at the English court and, like the Irish prince who sought refuge at one of Agricola's camps, appealed for

foreign aid to avenge his own particular wrongs. He did homage to Henry for his lost kingdom, and Henry promptly espoused his cause. A small army of knights and archers invaded Ireland and met with such success that reinforcements were soon dispatched. These consisted mainly of Flemish mercenaries and Welsh archers who were led by Norman barons. They terrorized Ireland as England had been terrorized during Stephen's reign. After the Irish conquest had been well advanced the ambitious barons began to wage war against one another.

When King Henry's turbulent sons rebelled against him, William the Lion was tempted, by promise of the earldom of Northumbria for himself and of the earldom of Cambridge for his brother David, to join the confederacy. He invaded northern England in 1173 and again in 1174. Then came the disaster at Alnwick. During a spell of misty weather William headed an attack against a party of knights, was unhorsed, and taken captive. He was handed over in chains to King Henry, who confined him first in the castle of Richmond and then sent him to a dungeon in Normandy. The English king, who had had to humble himself by doing penance and submitting to a flogging for the murder of Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, wreaked his ill-tempered vengeance upon William. His terms were not lacking in either severity or thoroughness. The Scottish king was not set at liberty until he and his brother David did homage to Henry as overlord of Scotland. The Scottish barons had likewise to do homage. It was also decreed that the Scottish Church should acknowledge its subjection to the Church of England. The Scottish bishops were accordingly summoned to attend a council at Northampton. No decision was come to, however, for a dispute broke out between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Archbishop of York in connexion with

the proposed subjection of the Scottish clergy. The council was suspended, and the Scottish bishops appealed to the Pope for protection.

King Henry secured his hold of southern Scotland by taking possession of the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh. William was forced time and again to attend Henry's court as a vassal, and when trouble broke out in Galloway he had to ask Henry's permission to deal with it. There the old chiefs rebelled against the king's officers and barons. When Gilbert, son of Fergus, who had made himself sole ruler of the province, was forced to yield to a higher authority, he swore fealty to King Henry and gave as a hostage Duncan, his son and heir. He, however, continued to be William's enemy and frequently raided the neighbouring provinces.

When Gilbert died his nephew Roland seized the lordship. His cause was favoured by King William the Lion, who found it much to his advantage to have secured so powerful an ally. Duncan, Gilbert's son, was forced to abandon his claim to the lordship and content himself with the territory of Carrick, but his blood was destined to flow in the veins of the future rulers of Scotland, for his granddaughter became the mother of a son who in after years reigned as King Robert the Bruce.

William's throne was tottering and his life was in peril when Roland came to the rescue. He was despised by not a few of the great men in the kingdom because he had yielded to Henry II, and the north was in open revolt. In 1181, when William was in Normandy serving his English overlord, Donald MacWilliam, son of William FitzDuncan, landed in the north of Scotland and advanced his claim to the throne. The *Orkney Saga* appears to refer to him when it says that Duncan I was "the father of William (Fitz-

Duncan), the excellent man: his son was called William (MacWilliam) Odling (the Noble) and all the Scots wished to have him for their king ".

The Hebrideans and the Norsemen gave active aid to Donald MacWilliam, while influential families on the mainland either openly espoused his cause or secretly favoured it. For six years Donald reigned as king of the north, and his influence increased so steadily that Scotland became involved in a critical civil war. William raised an army which was strongly reinforced by the men of Galloway, and in 1187 he marched northward.

The contemporary continuator of the chronicles of Benedict of Peterborough affords us a vivid glimpse of the situation in which the Scottish king was placed. He tells that when William reached the fortified burgh of Inverness there were signs of treason in his army. Some chiefs were loyal to him, but others " did not love him at all ". Disputes broke out in connexion with the conduct of the campaign. Some who appear to have been secretly in favour of the cause of Donald MacWilliam were anxious to advance into the wilds of the Highlands. The loyalists, however, opposed them, prevailing upon King William to remain in Inverness. It was well for him that Roland remained faithful, because " on his nod ", as we are told, " hung the decision of all ". Shut up in the strong castle of Inverness, William was little better than a prisoner. Food was scarce, the surrounding country having evidently been laid waste, and foraging parties were consequently meeting with little success.

At length Roland took command of the situation. He had ascertained where Donald MacWilliam was to be found, and he set out with a force, said to have been 3000 strong, to " seek the king's enemy ". Perhaps he had caused

the rumour to be circulated that he was in rebellion against William and intended to come to terms with his rival. At anyrate, he attacked the rebel force at a place which Fordun calls Mamgarvie (" the rough hill ") and scattered it. Donald MacWilliam was slain, and Roland returned to Inverness with his head, which was no doubt hung up for all to see. The pacification of the north followed upon the death of the Pretender.

It was because of Roland's services in this campaign that King William formally confirmed him in the possession of the lordship of Galloway.

In 1188 Henry II received a sharp reminder from Scotland that its people refused to regard themselves as his subjects. Henry had sent the Bishop of Durham and some others to collect tithes in Scotland. William the Lion was willing to acknowledge Henry's claim, but at a great gathering of Scottish bishops, earls, barons, and vassals it was made known to the English visitors that the Scots would never give tithes even although the King of Scotland had promised them to the King of England.

After fifteen years of servitude to England, King William regained his status as an independent monarch. Henry II had been divested of his power by his rebellious sons and died a broken-hearted and conquered king. His successor Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, being anxious to raise money for his crusade, accepted from William the sum of ten thousand marks for the quit-claiming of Scotland's fealty and allegiance. The agreement, which was dated 5th December, 1189, provided for the return of the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, the castle of Edinburgh having previously been given up, and for William's release from " all obligations which our father extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity ". The

only homage required of the Scottish king and his successors was for the dignities held in England.

During Richard's absence William preserved the peace, and he contributed a large sum towards the ransom of the English king from a German prison. He certainly made Richard his debtor, and when that king returned to England, William renewed his claim to the earldom of Northumbria. After much procrastination on Richard's part, William made an offer of money. Richard was tempted and expressed his willingness to deliver up Northumbria, provided, however, that he himself should still retain the castles, but to this William refused his consent, and the negotiations again broke down.

In the following year (1195) William fell ill at his residence at Clackmannan. Fearing he was about to die, he proposed to his earls and barons that he should give his daughter Margaret in marriage to Otto, son of Henry, the Duke of Saxony, and that Otto should become his heir. Some consented to this, but Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, led a strong opposition, declaring it was not the Scottish custom to have a queen when there was a brother or nephew of the king to claim the throne as his right. William's brother David was still alive.

William had come to a provisional agreement with Richard of England, the uncle of Otto, with regard to the succession to the Scottish throne. When, however, Richard's terms were fully disclosed they scared even William. Margaret's husband was to be given the whole of Lothian, and its castles were to be garrisoned by Richard. In return Richard was to give Otto Northumbria and the county of Carlisle, the castles to be garrisoned by Scots. The Scottish kingdom was thus to be dismembered and Lothian and Northumbria formed into a vassal state under dual control,

Richard was evidently plotting to regain what he had bartered away—the virtual overlordship of Scotland. With the castles of Lothian in his possession, he could soon have regained the castles of Northumbria.

William recovered from his sickness, and he continued the negotiations until at length a son was born to him (1198), when, as a matter of course, they were abandoned.

Meantime northern Scotland, responding to the unrest which had been created by William's dealings with Richard and his proposal to make a German prince his heir, was again disturbed by revolt. Harold MacMadad, Earl of Orkney and Earl of Caithness, became a claimant of Moray and was apparently ready to form an independent kingdom. He had royal blood in his veins, for his father Madad, Earl of Atholl, was a cousin of King David I. He inherited the Orkney earldom through his mother. Harold had divorced his wife Afreka, daughter of Duncan, fourth Earl of Fife, and married Hvarflod, daughter of Malcolm MacHeth and therefore a descendant of Macbeth's wife Gruoch. Thorfinn was a son of the second marriage.

Hearing that Harold had invaded Moray, William went north with a strong army. He defeated Thorfinn in the vicinity of Inverness, and in the battle fell one Roderick (Ruari), who may have been a MacHeth. Pushing on to Caithness, William destroyed Harold's castle at Thurso. Harold himself, being unable to escape to Orkney on account of stormy weather, submitted to William and promised to hand over hostages.

Later in the season, William again went northward. He met Harold at Nairn, and as the earl failed to deliver over the hostages as promised, he was arrested and taken south. Harold was kept in chains in Edinburgh Castle until his son Thorfinn came south as a hostage.

Harold returned home, but was again in rebellion. Poor Thorfinn had to suffer partly for his father's actions and partly because the blood of the MacHeths flowed in his veins. He died miserably in prison after being blinded and emasculated.

King William proceeded northward with his army. He was unable to capture Harold, but the old earl subsequently submitted to him. William offered to restore him to lands which had been confiscated, on condition that he would put away his MacHeth wife, but Harold refused to part with her.

After the wily King John of England had succeeded his brother Richard, the relations between him and William became somewhat strained. Each seemed to be willing to wound but afraid to strike. William kept urging his claim to Northumbria, and John kept putting him off. Then the alarming news was conveyed to William that a new castle was being erected at Tweedmouth to threaten Berwick, and he demanded an explanation. John arranged a meeting at Norham Castle, and there high words passed between the two kings. The work on the castle was not suspended, but it was greatly hampered, for bands of Scots were regularly sent out from Berwick to do as much damage as possible. In the end the relations between the two kings became so strained they they mobilized armies on the frontier. War seemed inevitable, but the barons intervened. A peace treaty was arranged, John promising to abandon the castle scheme and William undertaking to pay an indemnity for the damage done by his subjects. It was also provided that William should send his two daughters, Margaret and Isabella, that John might find husbands for them.

The weakness displayed by William in his dealings with John caused considerable resentment and discontent in

Scotland. A Parliament was convened at Stirling in 1211, and the barons and burghs were asked to provide about 15,000 merks to meet the English indemnity. A tax was accordingly levied, but the ecclesiastical order was exempted from payment of a share.

In the following year another rebellion broke out in the north. Encouraged by certain magnates of the kingdom, Godfrey, son of Malcolm MacHeth, landed in Ross with an army of adventurers from the Isles and Ireland. According to the *Annals of St. Edmunds*, William had to seek help from King John, who provided a force of Flemish mercenaries. With these and the troops of the Earls of Atholl, Buchan, Mar, and Fife, and Thomas the Durward, William operated against Godfrey, whose army suffered a defeat. Two timber castles were then erected in Ross, one at Redcastle, on the north shore of the Beauly Firth, and another at Dunskaith in Nigg, opposite Cromarty.

When, however, William retired southward with his main force, leaving Malcolm, Earl of Fife, to look after Moray, Godfrey became active again. He compelled the garrison to evacuate one of the new castles, which he destroyed, and he achieved other successes.

The reports that subsequently reached William regarding Godfrey's actions and prospects alarmed him very greatly. He made fresh approaches to King John, whose relations with his barons had become somewhat strained. The two kings, being in chastened mood, came to a most friendly agreement, vowing that in the case of the death of either, the survivor would support the heir of the other. John was given the right to select a wife for William's son Alexander. Both monarchs had become seriously alarmed regarding the future; their thrones seemed to be tottering.

In the early summer William sent an army towards the

north, his young red-headed son Alexander accompanying it. He himself followed it by easy marches along with the reserves. The MacHeth rising was, however, suddenly stamped out by William Comyn, the Earl of Buchan, who took Godfrey captive. The claimant is said to have submitted to him, but it is more probable that he was taken by treachery, the earl pretending to espouse his cause. At anyrate, Godfrey did not behave like a man who had yielded of his own accord. He refused to take nourishment, and we know him as the first " hunger striker " in history. The earl conveyed him through Moray and Aberdeenshire towards the advancing royal army. Couriers were dispatched to King William for instructions with regard to the captive, but his answer was that he had no desire to see his kinsman. By this time Godfrey had been conveyed as far as Kincardine, and was so weak that he seemed at the point of death. It was resolved, however, that he should not die a natural death. His captor had him beheaded and then hung up by the feet in the presence of Prince Alexander.

Although William had humbled Scotland by bringing it into temporary subjection to England, and could be overawed in turn by both Richard and John, he strengthened the authority of the Crown, curbing the power of the native magnates and providing for the better administration of the law. Walter of Coventry, drawing upon the *Chronicle of Barnwell* (*c.* 1227), gives reasons for William's unpopularity with large sections of his subjects. According to Anderson's translation, this writer says that " the more recent kings of Scots profess themselves to be rather Frenchmen, both in race and manners, language and culture; and after reducing the Scots to utter servitude, they admit only Frenchmen to their friendship and service ".

William found it necessary, however, to conciliate as many

of the native chiefs as possible, and that he had in no small measure succeeded in this regard is made evident by the failure of Godfrey's rising and that of a later rising early in his son's reign. He also increased the number of royal burghs. It was he who gave Glasgow its charter as a bishop's burgh. The burghs along the east and north-east coast which he nursed into prosperity were fairly numerous. Inverness was the most important in the north, and in the following reign its outposts in Ross were Dingwall, Tain, and Cromarty. William issued charters from Inverness, Nairn, Forres, Elgin, Aberdeen, and Forfar. The fortified burghs with their trading privileges became centres of loyalist propaganda and attracted natives in increasing numbers to reside within them or in their immediate vicinity. It was necessary for the prosperity of these burghs that the barons should keep the peace and protect the producers of wealth who tilled the soil and reared live stock. The gradual pacification of large areas was followed by marriage alliances between alien burghers and natives as well as between Norman or Normanized barons and influential native families. Normans, Norsemen, and Flemings were ultimately absorbed and Gaelicized in the Highland area, the Chisholms, the Bissets, the Roses, and others becoming as Highland as the Gaelic Highlanders. As elsewhere, the minorities of intruders were in time " bred out ", little more than family names surviving. In the burghs, however, the language of trade, the English dialect which we know in its later form as Braid Scots, was necessarily fostered, supplanting Norse, Pictish, and Gaelic. " The twelfth century," says Watson, " was a transition stage; at its close Ross was fast coming into touch with the south of Scotland and to some extent with the language of the Lowland Scots."

CHAPTER XXII

A Period of Recovery

Alexander II was in his seventeenth year when he came to the throne. He was crowned in Scone on 5th December, 1214, a few days before the body of his aged father was interred at Arbroath.

There was evidently good cause for securing the succession without loss of time. Trouble was still brewing in the north, the MacHeth and MacWilliam factions having come to an agreement to take united action. But the loyalist party was growing in strength and numbers, King William's diplomatists having evidently laboured with some success among certain of the influential chiefs of the Highlands and Islands.

In the early summer of 1215 a strong force, consisting chiefly of Hebrideans and Irishmen, landed in the north. The leaders were Donald Ban MacWilliam and Kenneth MacHeth, and they were accompanied by the son of a king of Ireland. The king's cause was espoused by a powerful chief whose name is given in the *Chronicle of Holyrood* as " Machentagar " (Gaelic *Mac an t-Sagairt*, meaning " son of the priest ", and now Englished MacTaggart). We learn from later records that his Christian name was Ferchar (Gaelic *Fearchar*, and now Englished Farquhar). MacTaggart was not at the time a surname. It may be that

the Ferchar traditions were acquired by the powerful Mackenzie clan (Modern Gaelic *MacCoinnich*, from Old Gaelic *Cainnech*, genitive *Cainnig*, *Cannico-s*, " fair one ", and therefore not derived from " Kenneth ", Old Gaelic *Cinaedh*, Irish *Cinaedh*, " fire sprung ", as Macbain has shown). The origin of the Mackenzie motto *Cuidich an Righ*, " Help the King ", is in Gaelic tradition associated with William the Lion.

The invading army of 1215 was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked and routed by Ferchar, the priest's son. Both Donald Ban MacWilliam and Kenneth MacHeth were slain. Ferchar conveyed their heads to King Alexander, who rewarded him with a knighthood. We find him subsequently referred to as the Earl of Ross. His daughter Christina became the wife of Olaf, King of Lewis, who succeeded his brother Reginald (Ronald) as King of Man and the Isles. Evidently Ferchar played a prominent part in securing the allegiance of the Hebridean chiefs and kinglets to the Scottish Crown, undermining the influence of the King of Norway and strenuously opposing the cause of the MacWilliams and MacHeths.

As Earl of Ross, Ferchar appears to have had his headquarters in Cromarty. When he died in 1251 he was buried in the abbey of Fearn. It is of interest to note that his great-grandson Walter, who had been educated at Cambridge, was slain in the battle of Bannockburn. Edward Bruce loved him greatly and, according to Barbour, mourned over his body:

> He was so wa (sad) and will of rede (distressed at a loss).

Hugh, Walter's brother, got from Bruce the burgh and county of Cromarty and lands in Skye, Strathglass, Strathconon, &c. He had in 1308 married Maud, sister of Bruce.

This was the Earl of Ross who fell at Halidon Hill, wearing the shirt of St. Duthac, the patron saint of Tain.

The northern rising having been stamped out by Ferchar, King Alexander II was given a free hand to deal with the hereditary claim to Northumbria, Cumberland, and Westmorland. King John had been humiliated by his barons and in June, 1215, compelled to grant the Magna Carta. John appealed to Rome, and the Pope favoured his cause, releasing him from his Magna Carta obligations. John then obtained mercenaries from oversea, but his barons appealed for aid to Philip, King of France, who dispatched to England a force under the command of Lewis, his son and heir. The French prince came as a conqueror of England, over which, in accordance with the promises given by the barons, he was to reign as king.

In October, 1215, Alexander II invaded Northumbria. He besieged Norham Castle but failed to take it. He, however, received the homage of a number of barons. This aroused King John to fury, and he hastened northward with his army of foreigners or " brigands ", as the *Chronicle of Melrose* bitterly designates them. Those English barons who had done homage to Alexander burned their mansions and grain and fled to Scotland. John took vengeance by wasting the country " with avenging sword and fire ", destroying towns and fortresses. Mitford, Morpeth, Alnwick, Wark were sacked and burned without mercy. The town of Berwick was occupied, and torturing and hanging there became the rule. The army swept northward, burning Roxburgh, Dunbar, and Haddington, and John is credited by a chronicler with having declared, " We will smoke the red fox-cub out of his den ", or, as another gives it, " We will drive the red fox-cub into his den ". The reference was to Alexander, the young and red-headed Scots king.

On his return from Haddington, John plundered the abbey of Coldingham. Then he had Berwick set on fire.

Alexander II retaliated in February by invading the north of England from the west. The force under his command was composed mainly of Scots, but whether from Argyll or Galloway is uncertain. These plundering fighting-men got out of hand, and they burned the monastery of Holmcultram in Cumberland. About 2000 are said to have been subsequently drowned owing to a sudden flooding of the river Eden, a disaster which was regarded by clergy and people as a judgment for the violation of the monastery.

In August, 1216, Alexander again entered England with a considerable and better-disciplined force. Carlisle surrendered to him, and he advanced into the midlands, meeting with no opposition. By this time large numbers of King John's mercenaries had deserted him, and he had to retreat to Newark with the greater part of England in arms against him and the French prince advancing his cause as a rival sovereign.

Alexander's army, reinforced by the northern English barons, advanced towards the south, harrying the lands of King John's supporters. Lincoln was carried by storm and the castle garrison put to ransom. Alexander's army then pressed on. Not since the fourth century had a Scottish force penetrated so far southward into England, and not until the " Forty-Five " did another similarly display such great daring. Alexander reached London, where he was welcomed, and then, according to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, proceeded to Dover, where he met Lewis. Roger Wendover, writing in the latter part of the twelfth century, declares that it was through " fear " of King John that Alexander marched southward to Dover! He tells that the Scots king did homage to Lewis for the possessions he was to hold in

England. Lewis had met the Scots army at Canterbury and conducted it amidst rejoicings to Dover. According to Walter of Coventry, who drew upon the *Chronicle of Barnwell*, Lewis was not too happy; he considered it safer to remain near the coast, having found that the English barons were somewhat fickle.

Lewis afterwards entered London, where he captured the Tower. It is uncertain whether or not Alexander left him to return home shortly before or soon after the death of King John, which occurred in October, 1216. Lewis subsequently made peace with the representatives of King John's son, Henry III, then a boy of nine, and returned to France. He was indemnified by payment of £10,000.

Cardinal Gualo, who had been sent from Rome to defend King John and his heir, had excommunicated Lewis, Alexander, and his barons, and laid the whole kingdom of Scotland under interdict. Alexander was not absolved until he had given up the northern English castles in his possession and undertaken to do homage to Henry for the lands he held in England.

Alexander II, however, achieved a triumph in his dealings with Rome, settling the dispute which had been waged since the time of Alexander I. Pope Honorius III finally confirmed the independence of the Scottish Church, which he declared to be directly subject to the see of Rome. He also provided that in future a papal legate in Scotland must be a Scot. The pretensions of the Archbishops of York and Canterbury were thus set at naught.

In 1221 peace was confirmed between Scotland and England by the marriage of King Alexander to the princess Joanna, sister of Henry III, who lived until 1238 but bore no children.

Shortly before his marriage, King Alexander had set

himself the task of achieving that unity of the kingdom of Scotland which had been the aim of Malcolm I and had been completed by his great-grandson Malcolm Canmore when he married Earl Thorfinn's widow. Magnus Barelegs, it will be recalled, reconquered for Norway the Orkneys and Shetlands as well as the Hebrides north of Kintyre, and he also held Galloway in subjection. As we have seen, William the Lion reconquered Galloway and by favouring the claims of Roland secured his allegiance. Alexander II had in Ferchar, Earl of Ross, a strong and loyal subject, who held in check the Norse party in the north and had become an influence in the Hebrides as father-in-law of Olaf of Man. The sons of Somerled, the ancestors of the chiefs of the Macdonalds, Macdougalls, MacRurys, &c., reigned as petty kings in several of the Hebridean islands, but some of them were more favourably disposed towards the King of Scotland than towards the King of Norway.

John, Earl of Orkney, and as such a vassal of the King of Norway, was also Earl of Caithness, which he was supposed to hold as the subject of the King of Scotland. That he really was King Alexander's vassal on the mainland was emphasized when in 1222 Adam, Bishop of Caithness, was murdered at Halkirk because he had increased the "scat" or tithes payable by the populace. King Alexander avenged his death, proceeding northward with a sufficiently powerful force. He inflicted severe punishment upon a number of suspects, and called Earl John to account for not having protected the bishop or punished his murderers. John was deprived of part of his lands, which, however, he subsequently bought back.

Before going to Caithness, King Alexander had entered Argyll during two succeeding summers (1221–2). He cruised round the coasts and penetrated into mountain

fastnesses. Some of the chiefs were deposed and supplanted; others had to pay fines for having failed to obey summonses to attend his councils or parliaments. Alexander appears to have left undisturbed the influential members of the Somerled family. The Macdougall clan was confirmed in possession of Lorn, its chief having apparently satisfied the king that he was a loyalist who could be trusted. He was recognized as the lord of Lorn, but the rest of the old kingdom of Dalriada became a sheriffdom and was therefore brought under the direction of the officers of the Crown. Argyll was separated from the diocese of Dunkeld and given a bishop of its own, who resided on the island of Lismore.

King Alexander's activities in the west were directed against the Scoto-Norse influence, and we meet with saga references to the concern shown by King Hakon of Norway with regard to the political situation in the Hebrides. It was reported to him that the Somerled chiefs were unfaithful, special reference being made to Dugald Screech, Duncan, and Somerled, the sons of Dugald and grandsons of Somerled. Their brother Uspak was resident in Norway. Olaf, son of Godfrey, known as Olaf the Black, had removed from Lewis to Man, where he shared the island kingdom with his brother Reginald. Although the son-in-law of Ferchar, Earl of Ross, Olaf the Black was said to be faithful to Hakon. Some of the Hebridean chiefs or kinglets were willing to do homage to both Alexander and Hakon so long as they were left undisturbed to attend to their own private affairs. Reginald, the joint King of Man, had for an ally the lord of Galloway, Alan, son of Roland, with whom he plotted to accomplish the overthrow of Olaf the Black.

The " hidden hand " of Norway may be suspected in a fresh MacWilliam rising which took place in the north.

In the *Chronicle of Lanercost* it is stated that a MacWilliam, whose Christian name is not given, along with his son and a man named Roderick (Ruari) assembled a force in the remotest parts of Scotland and were joined by a number of " evildoers ". MacWilliam planned to conquer Scotland, but in the end he was betrayed and his army defeated. Fordun refers to the leader of this rising as Gillescop, and tells that he burned some timber castles in Moray and slew a baron named Thomas of Thirlstane. Then he went against Inverness, which he captured and burned. King Alexander hastened northward to deal with the rebels, but they must have taken to the hills, for he achieved no success.

In the following year (1230) the Earl of Buchan, Lord Justiciary of Scotland, operated against the rebels with success, defeating the army and slaying Gillescop and his " two sons ".

The *Chronicle of Lanercost* gives no details regarding this civil war, but its statement that " too cruel vengeance was taken for the blood of the slain " suggests that Gillescop and his son, or sons, were tortured and executed. It then proceeds to say, as Anderson translates:

> " The same MacWilliam's daughter, who had not long left her mother's womb, innocent as she was, was put to death, in the burgh of Forfar, in view of the market place, after a proclamation by the public crier: her head was struck against the column of the (market) cross, and her brains dashed out."

Thus perished the last of the MacWilliams. For half a century these descendants of King Malcolm Canmore and Queen Ingibiorg had been striving for the kingship of Scotland against the descendants of King Malcolm Canmore and his second wife, Queen Margaret. Their cause had been warmly espoused in the Highlands, as in later times was that of " Bonnie Prince Charlie " and his father, the

" Old Pretender ". It had brought Norseman and Pict closer together, for the MacWilliams contracted marriage alliances with influential Norse families, as is made evident by the fact that Godfrey had a Norse name and Gillescop received the support of a Roderick, probably a kinsman.

The Norse penetration of Ross which followed upon the campaigns of Magnus Barelegs was evidently, in the main, a peaceful penetration. Place-names like Dingwall (Norse *Thingvöllr*, " Field of the Thing ", the Norse court of justice), Alladale, Dibidale, and Strathrusdale indicate that the Norsemen were in considerable force, but a significant surviving place-name like Scatwell (Norse *scat-völlr*, " rented field ") in mid-Ross indicates, as has been already pointed out, that in some localities rent was paid to the Highland proprietors. It was due to the Norsemen that the white-fish trade was developed. They dried and salted cod and ling and exported them. Many native Highlanders despised white-fish eaters. We still meet with the prejudice against " white flesh " and " feathered flesh ".

When the last MacWilliam rising took place, the Norse king was, as has been indicated, showing concern regarding his overlordship in the west. In 1230, the year in which Gillescop was overcome, a strong Norwegian fleet operated in the Hebrides. The *Annals of Dunstable*, in a brief reference to this expedition, records that the invaders consisted of Norwegians and Danes, and that after inflicting considerable losses they were with difficulty repulsed.

The *Chronicle of Man* gives fuller details. It states that King Hakon had appointed Uspak as king of the Hebrides, renaming him Hakon, and sent him with a great force to the western isles. Uspak lost his life in Bute and was buried in Iona.

A saga account of the expedition tells that when it was

ready to start Olaf the Black, King of Man, arrived in Norway and told of great disputes which were disturbing the Hebrides. Alan of Galloway had assembled an army to attack the vassals of the Norse king and had been heard to boast that he could invade Norway.

Olaf returned with the Norse fleet, which first made for the Orkneys. From there it proceeded to Skye, where a battle was fought and won. Sailing southward, the fleet reached Islay. There Uspak's brothers Dugald Screech, Duncan, and Somerled had a large force under their command. They appeared to be friendly and invited the Norwegians to a banquet for which they had obtained strong wine (evidently imported by Hebridean traders from France). The Norwegians did not trust them, however, although Duncan slept on the ship of his brother Uspak. Next morning they attacked the Hebrideans, slaying many, including Somerled. Dugald Screech was taken prisoner and put in chains, but Uspak, having allowed his brother Duncan to escape, took Dugald under his protection.

The Norwegians seized about eighty ships at Islay and, proceeding southward, landed in Bute, where they besieged and captured a royal castle in which they obtained much booty. Among the prisoners was a Scottish knight, apparently King Alexander's representative, who had to pay three hundred merks of silver to ransom himself.

When Uspak died, Olaf took command of the expedition. A visit was paid to the " Island of Merchants ", which is believed to be Copeland Island, to the south of Belfast Lough. The fleet then made for Man. There the final struggle took place between Olaf and his brother Reginald, who was being aided by Alan, his Galloway ally. Reginald was ultimately slain, and Olaf then obtained all Man and certain of the Hebridean islands.

In the spring of 1231 the Norwegians proceeded to Kintyre, but when they landed there and were engaged in plundering, they were attacked by a native force of loyal Scots and driven away. Another raid occurred in Lewis, where " great booty " was taken. Then most of the Norwegians returned home. Those who remained in the Hebrides were subsequently slain by Godfrey the Black, son of Reginald of Man.

Although King Hakon congratulated his men for having achieved so much success, it is evident that his overlordship in the Hebrides had not been strengthened. The Scottish king was gradually increasing his hold upon the island chiefs, and especially those who were more Gaelic than Norse.

Some of the Norse raiders remained in Orkney. At the time the bailiff there was Hánef, King Hakon's cup-bearer, and he became friendly with Snaekoll, who claimed a share of the Orkneys as the nephew of a previous earl. Hánef, Snaekoll, and their followers proceeded to Thurso in the autumn, and there they slew the aged John, Earl of Orkney and Caithness. Snaekoll's claim to the earldom of Orkney was, however, so strongly opposed by the islanders that he and Hánef proceeded to Norway. But John's supporters also sent representatives to the Norse court, and they so strongly influenced Hakon that Hánef was imprisoned, Snaekoll detained, and several others of the conspirators executed. Harold, son of Earl John, had been living at Hakon's court as a hostage. He sailed from Norway with several influential Orkney nobles, but their vessels foundered in a storm and they were all drowned.

The last of the Norse earls having perished, Alexander II gave the earldom of Caithness to Magnus, second son of the Earl of Angus, who appears to have married a daughter of

Earl John and through her inherited the earldom of Orkney. King Alexander divided the Caithness earldom, creating that of Sutherland, which was conferred upon Hugh Freskyn, ancestor of the present Duke of Sutherland.

Trouble broke out in Galloway after the death of its lord Alan, son of Roland, who had been made Constable of Scotland. He left three daughters, who had married Norman barons, and also a natural son, named Thomas, who claimed the lordship of Galloway. Thomas raised a native force which was reinforced by Irish mercenaries, and Alexander led his army into Galloway to overthrow him. According to the *Chronicle of Melrose*, the Scottish army got into difficulties in a marshy glen surrounded by mountains. It seemed as if a disaster was inevitable, for confusion and alarm were caused by men sinking in treacherous patches owing to their ignorance of the locality. Fortunately for the king, however, his faithful subject Ferchar, Earl of Ross, arrived on the scene with a force of Highlanders. He had an eye for such a country and conducted a successful enveloping movement, attacking the Galwegians in the rear and scattering them in flight. Next day many of the leading rebels submitted to the king.

In the following year Thomas and Gilrod, the Irish chief who had espoused his cause, came from Ireland with a fresh army. On landing, Gilrod had his ships destroyed to prevent his followers deserting if they should happen to meet with a preliminary reverse. Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, was in command of the royal army, and when he was drawing nigh Gilbert, Bishop of Galloway, and Adam, Abbot of Melrose, paid a visit to the rebel camp. They prevailed upon Gilrod to submit to the earl, and when he consented to do so Thomas had to follow suit. Both were made prisoners and kept for a time in a fortress.

The Irish mercenaries, betrayed by their leader and unable to put to sea, wandered through the country, making for the Clyde. They must have plundered freely to obtain food. When the burgesses of Glasgow heard with alarm of the approach of these Irishmen, they armed themselves and marched out to prevent their town being raided. They must have caught the adventurers at a disadvantage, for they massacred them all with the exception of two elderly men, apparently their chiefs, who were sent to Edinburgh, where they were brutally executed by being torn asunder by horses.

King Alexander had meanwhile become involved in trouble with Henry III of England. That wily and unreliable monarch had prevailed upon Pope Gregory IX to reopen the question of the English overlordship of Scotland. Alexander was bluntly requested by His Holiness to fulfil the conditions of the treaty between Henry II and William the Lion, the subsequent treaty by which King Richard released the Scottish king from all feudal obligations being completely ignored. It is manifest that the Pope had been misled by the King of England.

Alexander retaliated by reviving his claim to the northern counties of England, and when the two monarchs met at Newcastle, Henry, whose relations with many of his barons were somewhat strained, found that certain of them inclined to support Alexander. The dispute dragged on for some time, and in the end a settlement of all disputes between the two kingdoms was arranged, the Treaty of York (1237) providing that Alexander should renounce his claim by accepting English lands to the annual value of £200.

Queen Joanna died in the following year, and fourteen months later King Alexander married Mary, the comely daughter of the powerful French baron Engelram de Coucy.

King Henry was displeased with this development, for the French were hostile to England. According to Matthew Paris, Henry became greatly enraged when Alexander declared that " he did not hold, or ought or wished to hold an inch of Scotland of the English king ".

King Henry considered it necessary at this time to wage war against Alexander. He raised an army which was reinforced by troops provided by the King of Flanders, and he instigated a number of Irish chiefs to invade Scotland. Alexander prepared to meet him, moving southward with a large force of foot soldiers and cavalry. Matthew Paris, who refers to Alexander as a devout, upright, and courteous man who was popular with the English barons, says, according to Anderson, that the Scottish soldiers were " all unanimous and all animated by the exhortations of their clergy and, having confessed, were inspired to fight resolutely and die in defence of their native land ".

Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and other English barons brought pressure upon King Henry to abandon the idea of war and arrange terms of peace. A fresh treaty was accordingly signed at Newcastle, Alexander undertaking not to conspire with the enemies of England either directly or indirectly to cause war. The kings afterwards renewed their personal friendship and then withdrew and disbanded their armies. In the following year (1244) the Pope, having been informed of the treaty, decreed that in future the papal delegates who tried ecclesiastical cases should meet either in Scotland or within the dioceses of Carlisle or Durham, but never within the diocese of York. This was a final blow to the pretensions of the Archbishop of York, who had been reviving the claim of his see to the overlordship of the Scottish Church. It is of especial interest to find that Ferchar, Earl of Ross, was a witness to the agreement between

the Kings of Scotland and France, and that he was one of the nobles who informed the Pope of the Anglo-Scottish peace treaty. Highland as well as Lowland statesmen played their part in the events which were to culminate in the Scottish War of Independence.

In 1241 the Queen of Scotland gave birth to a son, the future Alexander III.

Having arranged a secure peace with England, Alexander found himself free to deal with the problem of the Hebrides. Olaf, King of Man, died in 1237 and was succeeded by his young son Harold, who inherited the northern Hebrides, including Lewis and Harris and Skye. The "southern Hebrides"—Bute, Arran, &c.—which Magnus Barelegs had never claimed, were held by the Somerled family, as well as other islands like Mull, &c.

Harold of Man inclined to be independent of the King of Norway, but was in the end forced to visit him and do homage. He was detained by the Norse king for two years.

King Alexander sent an embassy to Norway to endeavour to find a peaceful solution of the Hebridean problem. It was urged that Magnus Barelegs had acquired the western isles from King Edgar by unfair means. King Hakon Hakonsson retorted that Magnus had really acquired the Hebrides from Godfrey, the ancestor of Olaf, King of Man, and that, at the same time, he had a right to them by inheritance. This wholesale claim was quite unhistorical.

When Alexander found that he could not establish his claim to the Hebrides as the descendant of Malcolm Canmore, he offered to purchase them with refined silver. Hakon's reply to this offer, which was made more than once, was that he was not in need of money.

Alexander then decided to rule the Hebrides by right

of occupation. In 1249 he was bringing pressure to bear upon those island chiefs of Somerled's line who did him homage for their mainland estates. According to the *Chronicle of Man*, he mobilized a large fleet, and he appears to have utilized Oban Bay as his base of operations. The island chiefs were called upon to swear fealty to the Scottish Crown. One of the most influential of these was Ewen (also referred to as John), son of Duncan, grandson of Dugall, and great-grandson of Somerled. He was the head of the clan Macdougall, and held land in Lorn as well as in the Hebrides. Matthew Paris refers to him as " an energetic and very comely knight ". We find that he was also a man of honour.

Ewen had an interview with Alexander, who had laid against him a charge of treachery for having in the previous year done homage to the King of Norway for his island possessions. Ewen professed himself ready to be a faithful vassal to both the Scottish and Norse kings, but Alexander replied that no man could serve two masters. Ewen argued that this would be quite feasible, provided that the two masters did not quarrel.

Ewen wished to retain the friendship of the Scottish king and, finding that a compromise could not be arranged, proposed a truce so that he might have time to resign his islands to King Hakon. King Alexander would not agree to such a proceeding, because it would have entailed his own acknowledgment of the claims of King Hakon.

In the Norse account of this interview it is stated that Ewen (John) was asked by King Alexander to give up Biarnaborg and other three castles which he held from King Hakon, as well as his islands. Alexander offered Ewen in return much larger possessions on the mainland. Ewen steadfastly refused, however, to break his oaths to the King

of Norway, and when he left Alexander he sought refuge in Lewis.

The king died soon afterwards on a July day in the fifty-first year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. Matthew Paris tells that he had left his ship and, landing on the island of Kerrera, was about to mount a horse when he was suddenly struck with a mortal disease. The *Chronicle of Man* indicates that he developed a high fever. His symptoms appear to indicate what is known surgically as " acute abdomen ". He may have died of peritonitis, due either to a perforated gastric or duodenal lesion, or to perforation owing to chronic appendicitis. He had been in indifferent health for some time. In 1248 he had received permission from the Pope to eat meat, eggs, butter, and cheese during Lent, constant diets of fish being distasteful to him. In a contemporary verse chronicle, which refers to his burial at Melrose, he is lauded as a noble and pious man, a protector of the clergy, a lover of strict law, and a generous giver. It was during his reign that the Dominicans or Black Friars and the Franciscans or Grey Friars first settled in Scotland, that the abbeys of Pluscardine and Balmerino were begun, the latter for the Cistercians, and that the Cluniacs settled at Crossraguel. The Trinitarians or Red Friars arrived in the reign of his son.

Alexander II may have had a certain harshness of character, as is manifested by his treatment of the MacWilliams, but in dealing with their loyal followers he certainly tempered justice with mercy. He pursued a policy of conciliation rather than repression, which won him the respect and esteem of the chiefs and clansmen of the north and west who had for so long espoused the cause of the descendants of King Duncan II with as much fervour as the Highlanders of Jacobite times espoused that of the deposed Stuarts.

That he accomplished great things in reuniting Scotland and making the future Scottish War of Independence possible, is emphasized by the fact that he could procure an armed force from Ross to assist him in a campaign in Galloway. He must also have won the allegiance of several western seafaring clans to be able to mobilize a strong fleet in Oban Bay. As Robertson shows in his *Scotland under her Early Kings*, the policy of Alexander II " was peaceful, not aggressive, and directed principally to the internal amelioration of his kingdom ". The rights of all classes were insisted upon in his statutes, one of which explicitly provides that " the body of the tenant and his goods are under the protection of his lord ". In some areas, like Galloway and the West Highlands, recognition was given to ancient manners and customs, the traditional rights of old Celtic families being continued unimpaired so long as their loyalty to the Crown was assured. Several of the Norman barons in the Highland area became, as has been indicated, the chiefs of new or reorganized clans.

CHAPTER XXIII

Reunion of Scotland

Alexander III was a boy of seven when in March, 1249, he was formally declared king at Scone. The ceremony was a twofold one and reflected the spirit of reunion and reconciliation which was permeating the entire kingdom. A new generation had grown up with new interests, and there were no MacWilliam or MacHeth claimants to plunge the country once again into civil war. The young king was accepted everywhere as the rightful heir to the throne. Groups of the Hebrideans, however, still favoured the Norse claim to the Hebrides and part of the Argyll mainland.

In the abbey church of Scone, the capital of King Kenneth mac Alpin, the Latin coronation formulas were recited and translated into Norman-French, the language of the court. Then the boy monarch was conducted into the old burial-ground where, in front of a Celtic sculptured cross, lay the ancient Coronation Stone—the " Stone of Destiny "—on which his royal Gaelic ancestors had been consecrated as rulers of the people. It was covered with " cloth of gold ", and when Alexander sat upon it he received the homage of the magnates of his kingdom. Thereafter a grey-bearded Gaelic bard, clad in a robe of scarlet, performed the ancient Druidical custom of reciting in his native language the pedigree of the young king, tracing his descent from the

Gaelic monarchs of Scotland. We gather from Fordun and another source that the Pictish kings were ignored. Alexander was declared to be the descendant through Kenneth mac Alpin (843–58) of King Aidan (*c.* 574–608), the contemporary of St. Columba and King Brude I. A period of royal succession of 675 years was thus covered. But the genealogist went still farther back to Fergus MacEirc, the fifth-century Irish founder of the dynasty of the Scottish Dalriada, and beyond Fergus into the mists of antiquity.

It is now (1929) 680 years since Alexander III was consecrated as a Celtic king while seated upon the ancient Celtic Coronation Stone. That stone is still preserved in Westminster Abbey, where, lying on the seat of the Anglo-Norman coronation chair, it remains a symbol of the kingship of Scotland and of royal succession to a continuous line of kings during the long period of nearly fourteen hundred years. Withal, it is a symbol of our deep-rooted and enduring spirit of Scottish nationality, which dates back till the first century of our era, when the greater part of Scotland was united to oppose the Roman intruders. That spirit still pulsates unsullied and as vigorous as of old in the larger patriotism of Empire, having always been a growing and unifying force.

During the minority of Alexander III, who reigned for over thirty-seven years (8th July, 1249, till 19th March, 1286), the rivalries of the earls and barons were manifested in no small measure, and the English king, Henry III, father of Edward I, revived the notorious claim to the overlordship of Scotland. The Comyns, Robert de Ross, and John de Balliol had opposed to them as political rivals Robert de Brus (Bruce), Alexander, Steward of Scotland, ancestor of the Stuart kings, Alan Dureward, Patrick, Earl of March, Malise, Earl of Strathearn, and Neil, Earl of

Carrick. King Henry had gone so far as to ask the Pope for a mandate that Alexander should not be crowned without his permission, being "his vassal", but this request was rejected. During his father's reign Alexander was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of the English king, and the marriage took place at York on 26th December, 1251.

Alexander did homage to Henry for his English possessions, but when he was asked to do homage for Scotland, the young king recited a reply, which had apparently been previously prepared, to the effect that he had come to marry the princess Margaret and not to deal with so difficult a question. After the marriage ceremony had been concluded, the Earl Marshal of England claimed as a feudal right King Alexander's palfrey, but the Scottish magnates protested that their king was not liable to such an exaction.

Henry made accusations against certain of the Scottish magnates during and after the marriage, and he even prepared to invade Scotland with an army in 1255 because he had received complaints from his home-sick daughter. She told that she was confined in the castle of Edinburgh, a "sad and solitary place, without verdure, and by reason of its proximity to the sea, most unwholesome", and that she was "excluded from conjugal intercourse with her husband".

Henry continued his intrigues with the rival Scottish barons for the next few years, but before Alexander and his queen visited London in 1260, he had to give an undertaking that there would be no discussions regarding affairs of state between him and the Scottish king or his attendants. The young queen gave birth to a daughter in her father's court. Three years later Alexander had to press Henry to pay the arrears of the marriage dowry. The English king, complaining of the disorder of his finances, made a payment to

account and promised further instalments at Michaelmas, 1263, and Easter, 1264.

It was during the minority of Alexander that his great-great-great-grandmother, Queen Margaret, was enrolled in the catalogue of Roman Catholic saints. Over a century and a half had elapsed since her death in November, 1093. Miracles were said to have taken place at her grave, and when, after inquiry had been made, these were found to be proved, the Pope sanctioned her canonization. Her grave was opened in 1250, and in the presence of the boy king, his French mother, seven bishops and seven earls, her relics were transported to a tomb in the Lady Aisle of the new choir of Holy Trinity Church, Dunfermline. Bones, supposed to be those of Malcolm Canmore, were also placed in the same tomb. Malcolm and his son Edward had been buried in the church of Tynemouth, and, according to Matthew Paris, when the Scots claimed the remains of their king they were " beguiled ", for they were given instead those of a plebeian named Seaton.

The new Dunfermline tomb was in later times plundered of the relics of St. Margaret and the supposed relics of Malcolm Canmore. Mary Queen of Scots kept in a silver chest, adorned with gems and gold, St. Margaret's skull, to which still clung a portion of her golden-red hair. It was taken abroad during the Reformation and was kept in the Scots College at Douai, but disappeared during the French Revolution. During the latter part of the sixteenth century Philip II of Spain obtained some of the relics of St. Margaret. In 1852 discovery was made in Spain of a box containing the relics of different saints, and one packet, which enclosed two small human bones, was inscribed " De Sancta Margarita ". A portion of one of the bones—a shoulder bone—was sent to Edinburgh, and it is preserved

there in St. Margaret's Convent in a graceful reliquary which has clusters of Gothic pinnacles. The small portion of bone is enclosed in a crystal cylinder flanked by images of angels and surmounted by an image of St. Margaret. At the festival of St. Margaret (10th June) and certain other festivals this relic is exposed for veneration.

Not long after Alexander III had secured his kingdom against the threatened English dictatorship he had to deal with a great Norse invasion. Norway had long been in the throes of civil war and was not strong enough, when Alexander II was operating with so much success in the Hebrides, to defend its claim to that area.

During the confused period which followed upon the death of King Hakon Sverresson, two weaklings, Guttorm Sigurdsson and Inge Baardsson, reigned in turn. Pretender after pretender plotted to seize the throne, and organized bands of brigands gave them their support, but mainly to find excuse for slaying and plundering in the old Viking fashion. Norway was being sapped of its strength. It had, indeed, already entered upon a period of decline and was doomed to become ultimately a broken and subject state.

In 1217 Hakon Hakonsson, a natural son of Hakon Sverresson, was proclaimed king by an influential faction, although he was still a mere boy. He was reared in an atmosphere of intrigue, an experience which strongly influenced his character. He did not really secure complete sway over Norway until 1240, when the last pretender was overcome. All his days he lived on the reputation of his father, who had never shown himself stronger and more resolute than when opposed by heavy odds. Indeed, Hakon Hakonsson was a creature of circumstances who owed his power mainly to the fact that he received the support of those of his countrymen who recognized that Norway's greatest need was release from

the constant threats of civil war and brigandage. During his reign and that of his successor the democratic system of government by the *Things* was gradually suppressed and supplanted by government by the king and his council. Old laws were being repealed and new laws enacted without consulting the people in the ancient Norse fashion.

Hakon owed his rise to power among the north European kings to the creation of a fleet of 300 warships, which made him respected by Swedes and Danes, Germans and Russians, and even by the French and Spaniards. By 1261 Iceland, weakened by its constant family feuds, suffered loss of independence, promising to pay Hakon annual tribute, and it seemed that the time was ripe to reassert the Norse claim to the overlordship of the Hebrides.

Here we touch upon the question of the status of the Hebridean rulers. " Scottish writers in general," comments Eoin MacNeill, " show a remarkable shyness in dealing with the kingdom of Argyll and the Hebrides, and the highest title they are accustomed to accord to its rulers is that of ' Lord of the Isles '. In contemporary Norwegian and Irish records the title is always ' King '." There was, however, more than one Hebridean " King ", and if one thing is more clear than another it is that the Norse or Irish title " King " was not used in the same sense as in Scotland or England. The so-called island " Kings " were in theory vassals with princely rank who were nominated by the King of Norway, and the designation " Lord of the Isles " (*Dominus Insularum*) was first assumed by John of Isla in the middle of the fourteenth century.

When King Hakon Hakonsson visited the Hebrides there were at least three " Kings " or " Kinglets " in that area. Magnus, King of Man, held nominal sway over part of the northern Hebrides; Hakon had previously recognized Ewen

(John) and Dugald, son of Ruari, as "Kings" of island groups. Ruari claimed Bute, which had been occupied by the Steward of Scotland, and he had found refuge in Norway, where he urged Hakon to espouse his cause. He, too, wished to be an island "King". Other chieftains complained of the trouble caused in Skye and elsewhere by King Alexander's magnates, including the Earl of Ross and a "Makamel" (? MacCampbell). Withal, it was freely stated that the Scottish king had not concealed his intention of ultimately subduing all the western isles.

In 1261 Alexander had reopened negotiations with Norway by sending an archdeacon and a knight to Hakon's court to make proposals regarding the Hebrides. The name of the latter is given as Missel (perhaps Frissel = Fraser). They were detained until King Henry of England interposed to prevent an open rupture. When the Scottish envoys were released, Hakon assured Henry that his intentions were peaceful.

Hakon was a man slow to make a decision, and it may be he was quite sincere at this time. Not long afterwards, however, pressure was brought to bear upon him by his magnates to reassert Norway's claim to the Hebrides. Then suddenly, during the winter of 1262, orders were issued to raise considerable levies and mobilize a strong fleet of warships and transports for the invasion of Scotland.

Hakon failed to display those necessary qualities which characterize a great leader. At every step he hesitated and dallied, and it was inevitable that in the end he would be involved in disaster.

In the spring Hakon should have been ready to sail, but he had still much to do. He was having meeting after meeting with his council to make arrangements with regard to the government of Norway during his absence and also

in connexion with his expedition, and much valuable time was lost.

An endeavour was made to give the command to his son Magnus, but Hakon refused his consent to this, protesting that he had more knowledge of the Hebridean question than the prince and was therefore better fitted, although well up in years, to direct operations. To the Norse magnates King Hakon must have seemed a veritable " Old Man of the Sea ".

His first practical action was to dispatch small squadrons to the Orkneys, Shetlands, and the Hebrides to inform his vassals of his coming. We are informed that it had been the intention of Alexander III to wage war in the islands, but King Dugald, the Hebridean, spread the report that a fleet of forty vessels was on its way from Norway. The Earl of Ross and others consequently hesitated to conduct a fresh campaign.

The Norse squadrons which made for Shetland and Orkney combined to raid Caithness. Forces of warriors were landed near Durness in Sutherland, and a castle was captured and about twenty townships burned.

Hakon did not set sail with the main body of his expeditionary force until 8th July. The weather was then fair and the wind favourable. According to the saga account, the fleet presented a magnificent spectacle. The king's ship, which had been built at Bergen, was entirely of oak, and its dragon's head and neck, which had been freshly gilded, flashed in the sunshine. Magnus, Earl of Orkney, had been provided with a long-ship, and other big war-vessels were commanded by some of Norway's most powerful war-lords. The expedition was the largest which had ever set out from Norway for Scotland.

The first port of call was Lerwick, and there Hakon

tarried for about a fortnight, still apparently engaged in discussing the plan of campaign. Then the fleet proceeded to Orkney, casting anchor in Ellwick Bay, opposite the bay of Kirkwall.

Hakon had by this time come to a decision. He proposed to divide his fleet and army, sending one part to Moray to plunder there. His magnates, however, opposed his plan, expressing their reluctance to go anywhere except under his personal command. Hakon had to yield and was thus forced to reconsider his plans. His fighting-men appear to have dreaded coming to blows with the mail-clad warriors of Moray.

Hakon sent a force into Caithness to secure the submission of the natives and to collect taxes. It is recorded that the Caithness people accepted his terms, acknowledging him as their ruler.

Time was slipping past. A saga description of an annular eclipse of the sun shows that Hakon was still in Orkney on 5th August, 1263, and had as yet accomplished little or nothing. Five days later he sailed for the Hebrides, having received the alarming news that one of his " Kings ", Ewen (John), had espoused the cause of Alexander III. Evidently Ewen had come to the conclusion that to remain loyal to the hesitating Hakon was to lean on " a broken reed ".

Magnus of Man was meanwhile hastening northward with his fleet to urge the Norse king to action. He met Hakon in the Kyle (Gaelic *caol* = narrow) of Lochalsh, the strait between Skye and the mainland. Kyleakin (" Kyle of Hakon "), the Skye place-name on the west side of the strait, enshrines the memory of Hakon's visit. The great Norse fleet, reinforced by that of Magnus, must have greatly impressed the Highlanders and Islanders who watched it

passing through the Kyle, which had been time and again visited by the much smaller naval forces of the Earl of Ross and Makamal when these magnates were operating against Skye and other islands on behalf of the King of Scotland.

Hakon sailed southward unopposed, passing through the Sound of Mull towards Oban Bay, where Alexander II had some years earlier assembled a fleet to overawe the island chiefs. While lying " under Kerrera ", the Norse king was joined by King Dugald and other Hebrideans, and the fleet then numbered " between one and two hundred ships ", the majority being " big and well manned ". Alexander's spies, watching from the surrounding heights, must have been deeply stirred by the spectacle of the big Norse fleet in the bay, while the Hebridean galleys came from all directions to swell its numbers.

Hakon dispatched fifty vessels to the Mull of Kintyre to raid and plunder. The problem of feeding his great force was a serious one, and his foraging parties were evidently unable to obtain many cattle in Lorn, which was hostile and had probably been cleared of live stock.

While still tarrying at Oban, Hakon had a meeting on the ship of a bishop with " King " Ewen (John). He pleaded with Somerled's powerful descendant to accompany him, but Ewen formally resigned those island possessions which he held as the vassal of the King of Norway and stated frankly that the lands he had received from Alexander III, to whom he had sworn fealty, were much larger and more valuable. Ewen was detained, evidently in the hope that he would be prevailed upon to change his mind.

Murdoch and Angus, the chieftains of Kintyre and Islay, had become vassals of the Scottish king, but found it necessary when their lands were being raided to yield to King Hakon. The Norse king sent instructions to the

squadron he had dispatched from Oban to evacuate Kintyre and Islay, and ordered the chiefs to provide a thousand cattle. This they undertook to do, but they do not appear to have been able to meet the Norse demand.

The squadron sent out in advance proceeded to Bute, where a castle was captured. That island did not, however, yield sufficient supplies, its cattle having apparently been driven to the hills, for the Norsemen began to raid the coast of Ayr.

King Hakon sailed from Oban Bay and cast anchor off the island of Gigha. There he was visited by envoys from Ireland, who invited him to their native land. He was tempted with the offer of the overlordship of those native kings who were waging war against the Anglo-Normans. The Irishmen subsequently invited him to winter his fleet and army in Ireland, and he inclined to favour the offer. His magnates opposed him, however. They were short of provisions and feared to trust the Irishmen, remembering, no doubt, that when Magnus Barelegs was similarly in need of food for his men and went foraging in Ulster, he had been attacked and slain by the very Irishmen with whom he had fought as an ally.

Envoys of the Scottish king also visited King Hakon. They proposed terms of peace and were well received. A significant " peace gesture " was the release of " King " Ewen (John), who was permitted to go " wherever he wished ".

Hakon was evidently anxious to settle the Hebridean problem without coming to blows with the Scots. He accordingly dispatched an embassy to King Alexander, who, having received it well, made certain pointed inquiries which caused Hakon to draw up a list of the islands which he claimed. The Norse king made hard terms. He demanded

Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes, which had really long ceased to be Norse and had not been claimed even by Magnus Barelegs. The result was that the negotiations were prolonged, and they ultimately broke down completely, Hakon's ambition having " o'erleapt itself ".

By this time the need for provisions had become very pressing. Hakon was consequently forced to take action by raiding the mainland. The coasts of Ayrshire being well guarded, he sent a squadron of forty ships up Loch Long. The raiders were mainly Hebrideans and were under the command of Magnus of Man. They drew their vessels overland to Loch Lomond, the islands and shores of which were plundered. A strong force raided Lennox as far inland as modern Stirlingshire, laying waste the country with fire and sword. Hundreds of cattle were obtained, a fact duly celebrated by a Norse bard who also boasted of the slaying of non-combatants and the burning of their homesteads. The success achieved by the raiders was, no doubt, due in no small measure to the fact that the country people were engaged in harvest operations and unprepared for war.

A great storm of wind and rain broke out on Monday, 1st October, increasing in violence during the following day. Ten of the vessels which were carrying supplies from the raided district foundered in Loch Long. The main Norse fleet lying off the Cumbraes suffered greatly. A transport and several long-ships were driven ashore on the mainland coast, and other vessels were saved from disaster by hewing down their masts. Among the vessels which drifted up the Sound was that of King Hakon. Not until the eighth anchor had been cast out did it resist the fury of the storm. A transport was driven towards it, but its cable was cut and it was allowed to run ashore.

King Hakon left his ship and was conveyed in a long-boat to the Cumbraes, where in a church mass was celebrated. The Norsemen believed that the storm had been raised by witchcraft, but the Scots attributed it to the intervention of St. Margaret, the ancestress of their king.

When morning broke the Scots attacked the Norsemen who had been driven ashore at Largs, plundering the stranded vessels. The storm abated somewhat during the day, and Hakon sent ashore a force to defend his mariners and rescue the supplies of food.

The Norsemen succeeded in driving back the Scots wreckers, but after taking up position on the rising ground they beheld with alarm a small army coming against them. It consisted of nearly five hundred men in armour who were mounted on mail-clad horses, many of which were of the tall Spanish breed, and a few hundred foot soldiers armed with battle-axes and bows, while some were slingers.

According to the saga account, the Scots attacked boldly, casting stones. As we gather from the ancient Irish manuscript tales, the sling was a most effective weapon. The stones used were either naturally or artificially formed, some being as big as apples. When the archers came within range they discharged numerous arrows.

The Norsemen retreated, protecting themselves as best they could, and on reaching the sand broke into confusion amidst the showers of well-directed missiles. Boats were launched, and so many panic-stricken men leapt into them that some foundered in the rough sea and a number of Norsemen were drowned. Andrew Pot is celebrated in the saga of *Hakon Hakonsson* as the man who, in the scramble, " leapt over two boats and into a third ".

Four Norse leaders, Andrew Nicolsson, Ogmund Crowdance, Thorlang Busi, and Paul Stour, succeeded in rallying

their men and forming them in a circle to resist the Scots. They appear to have feared most the knights in armour, and when one of them, a knight named Sir Piers Currie, charged along the sand, he rode right through the Norse ranks. He seemed to be invincible, but Andrew Nicolsson sprang at him and struck so hard a blow with his sword that he cut through the mail coat, severing his thigh. The knight tumbled from the saddle and the Norsemen snatched at his gem-adorned belt, which they regarded as a great prize.

The fall of this knight inspired the Norsemen with confidence. Reinforcements were sent ashore and the Scots withdrew to the rising ground, where the bowmen and slingers continued to discharge showers of arrows and stones.

As the tide rose the Norsemen were forced nearer the Scots, and at length they delivered a massed attack, driving back the attackers. It was impossible to bring the mounted men into action on the beach, and the Norsemen did not press forward to attack the main body. Evening was coming on, and they were content to hold the rising ground until their evacuation was carried out in safety. Next morning a force landed to carry off the fallen. The wrecked ships were set on fire.

Such was the "battle" of Largs—a mere shore skirmish. The main body of the Scots army had never come into action, and on neither side were the casualties heavy. But in that famous skirmish Norway's hopes of continued possession of the western isles were completely shattered.

The weather had improved, but provisions were still scanty, and Hakon, having been forced to abandon the idea of wintering in Ireland, sailed away towards Arran. The fleet cast anchor under Arran for the night and next

day made for Gigha. Thence it sailed for the Sound of Islay, where two nights were spent, the local chiefs being compelled to provide supplies of cattle, cheese, and meal. Oban was reached on Sunday, 14th October, 1263, and while there King Hakon sent envoys to Ewen of Lorn but, as the saga puts it, " nothing came of the meeting ".

The fleet next sailed to Tobermory, Mull, where Hakon had to bid farewell to the brothers Dugald and Alan. To the former he gave the islands which Ewen had held from him, while he awarded Bute to Ruari and Arran to Murdoch. The solemn gifting of these islands was a farcical proceeding.

Sailing northward, the Norse fleet proceeded to Skye, where the local chiefs were requested to provide stores. Then a course was set for the Pentland Firth. The wind had fallen and the sea was very calm when the fleet was off Durness, and the ships had to be rowed into Góafiordr (? Loch Erribol). On the following day a party of Norsemen landed, but they were attacked by Scots, seven being slain and several wounded. The fleet sailed away next morning (29th October), making for Kirkwall. A strong tide was running in the Pentland Firth and the wind had freshened. One ship was lost in the Swelkie whirlpool near Stroma, and another, running before the wind, made for Norway.

King Hakon decided to winter at Kirkwall, but sent home the greater part of his fleet and army, retaining twenty ships. The strain of the campaign had made him a victim of insomnia, and he was laid up on shore for about three weeks. He revived somewhat and was able to be out and about for a few days. Then he had a relapse and returned to bed. Someone read Latin books to him in which were told the stories of the saints, but he found it difficult and

tiresome to follow the Latin language. He preferred greatly to listen to the sagas of the Norse kings—the heroes whose achievements he fain would have emulated.

On Saturday, 15th December, having heard the saga of his grandfather King Sverri, he collapsed suddenly and soon after midnight passed away. His body lay in the cathedral of St. Magnus for three months, and when the weather improved was conveyed to Norway, where it was interred in the cathedral of Bergen.

During 1264 King Alexander III dispatched Alan Durward and the Earls of Buchan and Mar to the Hebrides to punish the chieftains or " Kings " who had espoused the cause of Hakon, and especially those who had taken part in the Loch Long expedition. Some were executed, others were deposed, and many were fined. An army was sent to Caithness, and the Norse magnates who were still in Orkney attempted to arrange a peace, but failed to do so. The Scots charged the Norsemen with having committed great atrocities during the Lennox raid. It was feared that the Orkneys would be plundered by the Scots, and King Magnus of Norway was prevailed upon to open direct negotiations with the Scottish king concerning a peace treaty.

Magnus, King of Man, had in the spring of 1264 sent warships to the Hebrides and Orkneys to continue the war, but when news of the Scottish success reached him and he learned, too, that a fleet and army was being mobilized in Galloway to invade Man, he went to Dumfries and yielded to King Alexander. The terms of submission were that he should become the vassal of the Scottish king, who would in turn protect him against the King of Norway. Magnus died in the following year. The kingdom of Man was subsequently placed under the control of the *maors* or bailiffs of Alexander, the chief being Godfrey MacMares.

In 1274 another Godfrey, a natural son of King Magnus, arrived in Man and forced a section of its people to acknowledge him as ruler. Alexander in 1275 dispatched a fleet of ninety ships and a strong army to deal with the Pretender. An embassy was first sent to Godfrey to ask him to submit peacefully, but his councillors prevailed upon him to reject the offer. Then a battle followed, and Godfrey, suffering defeat, had to take flight to Wales.

The negotiations between King Alexander and King Magnus were continued during 1265, and on 2nd July, 1266, a treaty was signed in the church of the Dominican Priory in Perth which provided that the Hebrides should be ceded to the Scottish king. Norway was to receive within four years payment of four thousand merks sterling and, in addition, an annual payment of a hundred merks. The Norse signatories to the treaty were Sir Asketin, the Chancellor, and Andrew Nicolsson, the doughty warrior who had slain Sir Piers Currie at the "battle" of Largs.

This treaty granted a general amnesty in the Hebrides. Those who so desired were permitted to proceed to Norway with all their effects; those who remained were to be recognized as subjects of the King of Scotland.

King Magnus of Norway subsequently addressed a mandate to the Hebrideans, counselling them to become and remain loyal subjects of the King of Scotland.

King Alexander restored to Ewen of Lorn the islands he had resigned to Hakon; Angus of Islay was left in his possessions, and Ruari's sons, including Dugald, had to give up their claim to Bute and Arran, but were settled in northern islands formerly held by the King of Man. William, Earl of Ross, son of Ferchar, received Skye and Lewis.

During the Scottish War of Independence the Lorn family of Ewen, grandson of Dugald, supported the Comyn

and Balliol party, with whom they had become connected by marriage, but the families of Islay and the north Isles espoused the cause of Bruce.

The chieftains of the clans Macdougall, Macdonald, MacRuari, and MacSorley (MacSomerled) were all descendants of Somerled (Samuel). Some would have it that Somerled was a Norseman, but he appears to have been a Gael, for his father's name was Gillebride and that of his grandfather Gilladomnan. The latter was, according to the Gaelic bards, sixth in descent from Godfrey MacFergus, Tòiseach of the Isles during the reign of King Kenneth mac Alpin, and a descendant of the Irish king Conn of a Hundred Battles.

From the early Viking period there had been, as has been emphasized, a good deal of intermarrying between the Norsemen and the Celtic Hebrideans. Sons of Norse fathers did not, however, always bear Norse names, while Norse names were borne by men who had little Norse blood in their veins, their relatives having adopted Norse habits of life and acquired the Norse language. There was a long bilingual period in the Hebrides, but after Alexander III was recognized as the king of all the western isles, the Norse language gradually died out. Many Norse place-names were, however, retained, and among the Norse names which became Gaelic surnames are MacIver, MacLeod (Lyotr), MacAskill (Asketil), MacAulay (Olaf), MacCorquodale (Thorketill), MacNicol, and Nicolson. The MacNeils of Barra are of Irish origin. There were Neils among the Gall-Gaels, and the name became Nigel and Nelson in England, and in Iceland Njal, where one Nial, as already mentioned, became celebrated in the " Saga of the Burnt Njal ".

During the reign of King Alexander III, Marjory, the

Gaelic Countess of Carrick, the descendant of Duncan of Galloway, married Robert the Bruce, son of the claimant to the Scottish Crown as grandson of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of King William the Lion. It is stated by Fordun that the countess, who was a widow, became enamoured of Bruce and kept him confined in her castle of Turnbery until he consented to become her husband (1274). Christian " of the Isles ", who helped King Robert the Bruce in 1307 and, according to Fordun, " had a kindness from him ", was also known as " Christian of Carrick ". She had apparently married a Macdonald of Islay, and this may account for the support given to Bruce by the Islay family.

King Edward I of England came to the throne in 1274, and Alexander and his queen attended the coronation, which took place on Sunday, 19th August, " the day of St. Magnus the martyr ". The English king had during his father's lifetime won a reputation for unscrupulous actings and impulsive and vindictive designs. He " possessed ", as Professor T. F. Tout puts it, " that strange power, often found in temperaments like his, of persuading himself that what he desired was right, and that the means which he selected to attain a good end were necessarily consecrated by the excellence of his object ". The greatest ambition of his life, as events proved, was the subjection of Scotland, and early in his reign he revealed himself in this connexion as a cunning and calculating schemer. He began to summon those Scottish barons who held lands in England to assist him in his military campaigns against Wales. The Earl of Buchan was one of these and had to excuse himself on the plea that his interests in northern Scotland demanded his presence there. In this connexion he was supported by King Alexander.

In 1278 King Alexander himself was summoned to England to do homage to Edward for those lands he held from him. The ceremony took place at Westminster. Alexander offered homage for the lands he possessed in England, but protested that he held his own kingdom from God alone.

Alexander's queen, Margaret, the sister of Edward I, had died three years previously. Her son Alexander died in January, 1284, in his twentieth year, and her younger son David in 1281 at the age of ten. The surviving daughter, Margaret, born in 1260, became in 1281 the bride of Eric, King of Norway, grandson of King Hakon Hakonsson, then a boy of fourteen. She died in 1283 after giving birth to a daughter who was named Margaret and became known as the " Maid of Norway ".

King Alexander in 1285 married Joleta (Yolande), daughter of the Count de Dreux, but there was no issue of this union. The wedding took place at Jedburgh on 1st November. On 19th March in the following year Alexander met his death while riding to Kinghorn in the darkness. He had held a council of his magnates at Edinburgh Castle, and after dinner set out, despite the inclemency of the weather, to his dwelling at Kinghorn in Fife. He crossed Queensferry, and when he reached Inverkeithing darkness prevailed. Three esquires accompanied him, and he obtained at the burgh a couple of guides who were familiar with the " beaten path ". Some miles farther on the party were separated and King Alexander, when about two miles from his dwelling, took a wrong turning. His horse stumbled at a rocky place and he was thrown, falling on his head and breaking his neck. Thus died King Alexander III in the forty-fifth year of his age and in the thirty-seventh of his reign. He was buried at Dunfermline.

At an assembly of earls, barons, and bishops held at

Scone in 1284, the infant " Maid of Norway " had been acknowledged heir to the throne. After Alexander's death a regency was appointed. King Edward I was keenly watching Scottish affairs and obtained a bull of dispensation from the Pope to make possible the marriage of the two cousins, his son Edward and the " Maid of Norway ". The Treaty of Salisbury, 1289, which he negotiated with Scotland and Norway, provided for this union, and the Treaty of Brigham in the following year contained Edward's pledge that in the event of the marriage taking place Scotland should remain " separate and divided and free in itself without subjection to the realm of England ". Professor Tout's reading of this latter treaty is that " England abandoned any real overlordship over Scotland that the heirs of the two thrones should unite the kingdoms on equal terms ".

The " Maid of Norway " was a delicate child, and when in 1290 she was being conveyed from Norway she became so ill that the vessel put in at Orkney, where she died. Her body was conveyed to Norway and interred beside that of her mother in the cathedral of Bergen.

The two chief claimants to the throne of Scotland were Robert Bruce, grandfather of the future king of that name, and John Balliol. King Edward I was asked to decide which was the rightful heir, and at the great court held in Berwick he favoured the claim of Balliol. He, however, required Balliol to recognize him as overlord, thus advancing a claim which was directly at variance with the treaty of 1189, when King Richard of England quit-claimed King William the Lion " and all his heirs forever . . . from allegiance and subjection for the kingdom of Scotland ". It was also contrary to the Treaty of Brigham of 1290.

When in 1295 King John Balliol found himself forced

to renounce King Edward's feudal supremacy, Scotland and England were plunged into war, and their union was consequently postponed for centuries.

Edward I attempted, in undertaking the subjection of Scotland, " more than his strong purpose could have successfully accomplished ", as Professor Tout acknowledges. The sense of Scottish nationality which had been fostered for over twelve centuries could not be easily extinguished. It was only intensified during the period of Edward's oppression. Although for a time some barons who possessed lands in England gave nominal service to Edward, " their hearts ", as the *Chronicle of Lanercost* declares, " were always with their own people ". The ideal of " Scotland a nation " had taken captive the descendants of the peoples of different origin, high and low, who had settled in the land and had become united as one by their common love of its history and traditions, and especially of its enduring allegiance to the principles of freedom and independence.

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